

STATUS AND LOYALTY IN COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA:  
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF REGULAR ARMY OFFICERS  
IN VENEZUELA, 1750-1810

By

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## PREFACE

For more than a decade students of colonial Latin American history have increasingly turned from institutional history and biography to the analysis of economic data and to examinations of social groups. In the last category are studies on merchants, miners, slaves, bureaucrats, and elites. Rather than representing sharp breaks with the earlier institutional histories, however, these studies were a direct outgrowth and were based upon them. The investigation of groups was impossible without the pioneering work in institutional histories.

This study reflects this trend; prosopographical analysis of a "group" (regular army officers), based upon solid institutional histories of the Spanish army in the Indies. Prior to Lyle N. McAlister's pathbreaking The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain, 1764-1800 (Gainesville, 1957) only two works on the army in colonial Latin America had been published: Juan Beverina's, El virreinato de las provincias del Río de La Plata, su organización militar (Buenos Aires, 1935) and María del Carmen Velázquez's El estado de guerra en Nueva España, 1760-1808 (México, 1950). Since then major studies have appeared concerning Peru, New Granada, and Mexico. In addition, many articles have

been published on local garrisons, fortifications, and military expenditures. Finally, the distinguished Venezuelan historian, Santiago Gerardo Suárez, has compiled, edited, and overseen the publication of several volumes of documents concerning the colonial army of his country.

This work was inspired, in part, by the conclusions drawn from the major studies of the army as an institution. McAlister dealt with the relationship of the army to society in late colonial Mexico to explain the praetorian tradition that dominated much of that country's early national history. The central element of praetorian states was the central role played by the military in selecting and maintaining national leaders, without a corresponding sense of public authority or civic responsibility to the nation as a whole. He presented two reasons for this development: first, the fuero militar (the special prerogative of soldiers to military justice and other special privileges) which allowed soldiers to perceive themselves and act as members of a privileged irresponsible corporation; and, second, the honors and prestige associated with military service which attracted criollos to the regular army and militia without a corresponding sense of civil responsibility.

McAlister's work inspired others, for the most part in the context of the expansion of the army as a component

of the Bourbon Reforms. His praetorian tradition thesis was tested by Christon I. Archer in The Army in Bourbon Mexico (Albuquerque, 1977) who found that instead of creating an autonomous praetorian tradition military service was avoided by nearly everyone because only misery and hardship awaited those who served. Furthermore, he discovered that the reform of the army failed because of international conflicts which disrupted the empire and the inability of metropolitan authorities to understand fully Mexican society. Leon Campbell in The Military and Society in Peru, 1750-1810 (Philadelphia, 1978) also found that military reform was unsuccessful because of fiscal problems. Although some progress was made in creating trained militias, after their dismal performance against Tupac Amaru's forces the crown returned to reliance on regular forces. Since the militia was deemphasized, no praetorian tradition emerged in Peru. The situation was similar in New Granada, according to the conclusions of Allan J. Kuethe in Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808 (Gainesville, 1978), who also found that economic problems plagued reform efforts. He did, however, find regional variations regarding the extent of the reforms and criollo participation in them. In Quito and Guayaquil, where military threats were greatest, he discovered the reforms were more successful and there was less civilian resistance to military reform and expansion.



The works of McAlister, Archer, Campbell, and Kuethe permit some conclusions about the military as an institution in the late colonial period. In response to the ease with which Great Britain captured Havana in 1762, Charles III and his advisors embarked on a series of reforms to improve the defense of the American colonies. These efforts, which accompanied fiscal and administrative centralization, focused on strengthening the regular army units stationed in ports and major interior cities and creation of "disciplined" militias, trained and staffed by regular army cadres. Due to the tremendous cost of garrisoning sufficient numbers of regular units in the colonies, the backbone of defense was to be the reformed militias. The plan appeared sound, not only would the reorganization relieve the crown from sending peninsular units to the Indies in case of war with Great Britain, but the colonial forces could also provide internal security in case of rebellion. But the peninsular scheme did not live up to expectations when transferred overseas. Difficulties encountered in recruiting, training, discipline, health, and above all owing to international conflicts which diverted resources and disrupted international trade, made the colonial armies larger, but no more effective in 1810 than fifty years previously. The case was similar in Venezuela.

These studies also indicated that McAlister's thesis concerning the praetorian tradition may not have been as extensive as he believed, or at least it was not so in some cases (Mexico and Peru) and may have been elsewhere (New Granada). On the other hand his contention that many officers joined the reformed army for personal gain and increased status, without a corresponding sense of civic responsibility, may be a much more significant legacy of the colonial army. Many civilians and high-ranking officers after independence believed special military privileges detrimental to modernization. While the praetorian tradition may have been dormant in the nineteenth century when military officers had only a weak state to dominate, at least some aspects of the legacy may well be evident in contemporary Spanish America.

It appears that military reform took the same direction and had similar results in Venezuela as elsewhere. It seemed appropriate to focus on one segment of the army, a "group," and its relationship to society; that is, the Spanish regular army officer corps from the establishment of the first permanent battalion in Caracas in 1753 to the collapse of royal authority in 1810. Its purpose is (1) to provide a description of Venezuelan society in the late colonial period with particular emphasis on the officer corps; (2) to identify and analyze social changes in Venezuelan society during the sixty year period

with primary focus on the officer corps both in effecting these changes and how they were effected by them; (3) to trace the socioeconomic status of the officers and how it declined; and (4) to provide an additional basis for comparative study of the military and society in the Captaincy General of Venezuela and in New Spain, Peru, and New Granada.

The work relies heavily on prosopographical analysis. This method involves four steps: the identification of the officers who served from 1750 to 1810; the collection of biographical data on them from primary and secondary sources; compilation of individual biographies; and the construction of relevant common characteristics. Collective biography formed the base upon which an examination of the officers' career patterns, kinship ties, and material life was made.

Many people made this study possible. Spaniards, through their government's Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericano, awarded me a generous grant which allowed a year's research in their country. I am also greatly indebted to the staffs of the Archivo General de Indias, the Archivo Histórico Nacional, and the Archivo General de Simancas. Methodological inconsistencies were improved by discussions and correspondence with Professors John TePaske, John Lombardi, Allan Kuethe, and Susan Socolow. I am very grateful to Professor Claude Sturgill and Stephanie D'Hondt

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
PREFACE.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
ABSTRACT.....	xii
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
Notes to Chapter I.....	8
II ARMY ADMINISTRATION AND REFORM.....	9
Military Reforms Under Philip V.....	10
The Establishment of the Caracas	
Battalion.....	15
Militia Reorganization in Caracas.....	19
Reform in Outlying Provinces.....	24
Burdens of Military Expense.....	36
Results and Evaluation.....	43
Notes to Chapter II.....	49
III OFFICER CAREER PATTERNS.....	60
The Officer Population.....	61
Sources.....	66
General Characteristics.....	70
Recruitment.....	72
Cadets.....	75
Promotion of Non-commissioned Officers.....	80
Direct Commission.....	81
Fuero Militar.....	83
Promotion.....	85
Salaries.....	97
Grievances and Abuses.....	103
Supplemental Income.....	106
Effects of Inflation.....	110
Conclusion.....	111
Notes to Chapter III.....	113
IV MARRIAGE, KINSHIP, AND WIVES' ROLES.....	126
Regulations Concerning Marriage.....	128
Application.....	131
Dowries.....	138
Kinship Patterns.....	143
Privileges and Duties of Officers' Wives...	158
Conditions of Marriage.....	159

	<u>page</u>
Widow and Orphan Pension Plan.....	161
Other Entitlements.....	167
Property Rights.....	170
Work.....	171
Conclusion.....	175
Notes to Chapter IV.....	176
V MATERIAL LIFE AND STATUS.....	186
Houses.....	187
Diet.....	195
Miscellaneous Spending.....	202
Social Status.....	208
Notes to Chapter V.....	215
VI EPILOGUE: OFFICERS AFTER 1810.....	222
Notes to Chapter VI.....	228
APPENDICES	
I OFFICERS SERVING IN VENEZUELA, 1750-1810; WITH YEARS ON ACTIVE DUTY IN THE CAPTAINCY GENERAL, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER RECEIVING THEIR COMMISSIONS.....	230
II <u>PENINSULARES</u> AND EUROPEANS VERSUS <u>CRILLOS</u> ; <u>REGULAR ARMY OFFICERS</u> , 1750-1800.....	245
III BIRTHPLACES OF REGULAR OFFICERS SERVING IN VENEZUELA, 1750-1810.....	246
IV ROUTE AND AGE OF COMMISSION, 1750-1810.....	247
V CAREER SPAN.....	248
VI OFFICER MARRIAGES.....	251
VII CARACAS ELITES.....	252
VIII OFFICERS ON ACTIVE DUTY IN CARACAS PROVINCE, APRIL 1810 FOR WHOM ROLES IN THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE ARE KNOWN.....	254
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	257
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....	265

# LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>page</u>
2.1	Average Number of Infantry and Artillery Officers, Non-Commissioned Officer, and Soldiers Receiving Monthly Pay, 1750-1810....	32
2.2	Birthplaces of Soldiers in the Caracas Battalion in 1775, 1786, and 1803.....	34
3.1	Selected Annual Salaries, 1800.....	99
4.1	Annual Pensions Awarded to Widows, Orphans, and Mothers of Army Officers in The Indies...	163
5.1	Army Dietary for 3,000 Officers and Men in Puerto Cabello for Ninety Days, 1772.....	200

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In reaction to external threats from the British and the León Rebellion in the 1740s the regular Spanish army was expanded and reformed in Venezuela as an instrumentality of broader administrative reform. This initial reorganization was the vanguard of further centralization centered in Caracas. The peak of military expansion was in 1771 when disciplined militia units were created in Caracas Province. Once effective military command was installed in this primate city, the crown established the intendancy (1776), the captaincy general (1777), and the audiencia (1786).



The reorganization and expansion of the regular army during the third quarter of the eighteenth century did not benefit the one group which was vital to its success, the officer corps. As members of a privileged corporation they were afforded the social status of poor nobles, while their salaries, kinship ties, and material life were representative of those of the economic middle sectors. But in the fact of international conflicts the expansion of Bourbon centralization failed to allow them to be promoted at the rate they expected, to provide for their upward social mobility, or to pay them sufficiently to keep pace with the rising cost of living.

A prosopographical analysis of the career patterns of the 485 regular army officers who served in Venezuela from 1750 to 1810 led to the conclusion that they fought a rearguard action to maintain their socioeconomic status, and lost. The officers became radicados ("rooted") in Venezuelan society and their familial ties replaced the army as the key element in defining their socioeconomic status. In 1810 when local elites in Caracas began the process of separation from the metropolis the regular army officers followed the aspirations of those of similar status and with few exceptions turned against the crown.

## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

As was the case elsewhere in the Indies, Spaniards were initially attracted to Tierra Firme with the dream of extracting precious metals and exploiting the indigenous populations. Considerable excitement and promise gave way to disenchantment when Venezuela was found to lack substantial deposits of gold or silver or a large cohesive indigenous civilization. Instead early adventurers discovered pearl producing areas near Margarita and Cubagua Islands and salt beds on the Araya Peninsula. Small mineral deposits near what became Caracas and Indians who could be enslaved and taken to Caribbean Islands provided further attraction to northern South America.

By the 1580s three distinct economic zones were evident: Maracaibo, Caracas-La Buaira, and Cumaná. Area producers supplied local markets with subsistence crops, while also exporting wheat, cacao, tobacco, and hides to Mexico, New Granada, the Caribbean Islands, Spain, and Europe. Although geographically contingent, each region developed without substantial interaction with the others. Instead ties were stronger with areas that were not to become part of modern Venezuela, especially New Spain.

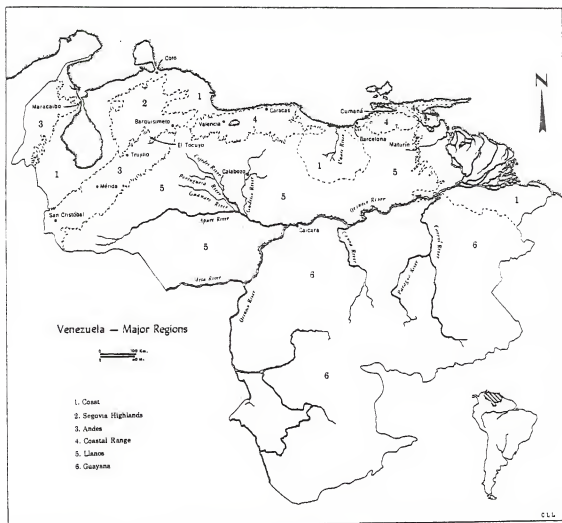


Figure 1. Venezuela, Major Regions

Source: John V. Lombardi, People and Places in Colonial Venezuela (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), p. 8.

During the seventeenth century, however, the economic growth of the region near Caracas outdistanced the other two as cacao became the main source of external income. Caracas was able to dominate the central region because within its jurisdiction were not only cacao plantations, but also wheat producing valleys. Grain was sold in Cartagena to supply the fleets and the profits were utilized to purchase African slaves to replace encomienda Indians. By dint of their wealth the largest cacao producers, the grandes cacaos, held considerable power in local and provincial governments.<sup>1</sup>

The administrative hierarchy was similar to the economic structure in that it was compartmentalized by province. In the early eighteenth century the political authorities in Maracaibo, Caracas, Cumaná (also known as Nueva Andalucia), and on Margarita Island were each directly responsible to the viceroy of New Granada in Bogotá. Supreme authority in each province was the governor and captain general, the first title for his civil and political functions and the latter for his role as commander in chief. As military chief he commanded forces garrisoned in the ports and the undisciplined militias which could be called up in case of an emergency. From the middle of the seventeenth century on regular forces were stationed in Maracaibo, La Guaira, Cumaná, and on Margarita Island.

In order to promote further economic growth the crown granted a monopoly concession on Venezuelan trade to the Compañía Guipuzcoana or Caracas Company in the eighteenth century. During the height of the Basque monopolistic enterprise's activities from the 1730s to the mid-1750s the Company transported and marketed Venezuelan cacao to Spain and supplied the colonists with European goods. In addition the Company's directors agreed to furnish African slaves, build warehouses and offices, and provide funds for defense and anti-contraband patrols.

The increase in trade and more efficient utilization of resources allowed the royal treasury in Caracas to pay the province's administrative costs. Prior to the arrival of the first company ship in 1731 the central province relied on a subsidy (situado) from New Spain. By the mid-1730s the stipend was no longer necessary in Caracas, although authorities in Maracaibo continued to depend on funds from Bogotá and those in Cumaná on New Spain to pay a majority of their expenses. In the 1726 to 1731 period, that is, prior to when the Company began operations, 1,541,646 reales in duties were collected in La Guaira, the port of Caracas. During the next five years the amount nearly doubled. Royal authorities not only met all expenses in Caracas, but sent funds to Cumaná, Margarita, and Trinidad. In addition, the Company funded the garrison at

Maracaibo and began construction of a fort at Puerto Cabello, which served as a base to combat illegal commerce and protect the embarkation of cacao grown in the province.<sup>2</sup>

The expansion of the 1730s and 1740s was in part at the expense of the Venezuelan cacao producers and merchants. The Company and its agents insured profit by dominating local producers who received less for their products and paid more for finished goods than they had prior to the monopoly's operations. The latter's assumption of the responsibility for coastal defense and administration came at too high a cost to offset losses by growers. The Company's desire for short- and middle-term profits and the crown's wish for a stable source of cacao and administrative revenues were put against the long established interests of the local producers and merchants.

In April 1749 Juan Francisco de León, a grower from the hamlet of Panaquire in the Caucagua Valley east of Caracas, led a small band of locals from the middle levels of society to protest Company operations. To put down the rebellion the crown ordered two six-hundred-man battalions of the Spanish army to Caracas Province; the first in October 1749 under the leadership of Julián de Arriaga,<sup>3</sup> and the other commanded by Felipe Ricardos which arrived two years later when the rebellion flared up again.<sup>4</sup>

Although the revolt's leaders were captured and punished, Ricardos correctly read the movement as indicative of widespread dissatisfaction with the Company and feared further trouble. Consequently, he urged the crown to assume some of its prerogatives including local administration and defense. In reaction to Ricardos' recommendation the crown in 1753 decided to station most of the 1,200 peninsular soldiers in the colony on a permanent basis. With these forces split evenly between Caracas, La Guaira, and Puerto Cabello, the focus of military administration shifted from Cumaná to Caracas Province.

The introduction of substantial numbers of peninsular army officers, as instrumentalities of broader administrative reform, foreshadowed an increase in royal attempts to regain control over the colony. By the 1750s locally born Spaniards dominated all aspects of colonial life, with the exception of those roles and positions with transatlantic ties, which were largely in peninsular hands. In Venezuela, and especially in and around Caracas, American-born Spaniards directed the economy, church, government, and intellectual life. They reinforced their control by kinship ties, inheritance, and economic influence. Their dominance was so pervasive that even the peninsular authorities who filled the highest bureaucratic and ecclesiastical positions depended upon them for rewards and wealth.<sup>5</sup> In order to administer the colony and control

these independent criollos the crown instituted a series of reforms. The first was the creation of the Caracas Battalion in 1753, followed by an intendency in 1776, ten years later an audiencia, and in 1804 an archbishopric. The regular Spanish army served as the vanguard of administrative reform in Venezuela.

Initially the local elites welcomed the crown's expanded military presence as a bulwark against threats to the established order. Many of their daughters married the newly arrived peninsular officers and their sons eagerly joined the officers corps of the reformed militia. But during the last decades of the century many criollos began to resent the crown's efforts to administer their affairs. In addition, the officers became radicados ("rooted") in Venezuelan society and increasingly identified with the dissatisfied civilians. An analysis of the career patterns, kinship ties, and material and daily life of the 485 regular army officers who served in Venezuela from the date of the León Rebellion to the outbreak of the wars for independence in 1810 provides an opportunity to trace the relationship between the socioeconomic status of an important sector of society and its loyalty to the crown.



Notes to Chapter I

<sup>1</sup>James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 282-287.

<sup>2</sup>Jerónimo Martínez-Mendoza, Venezuela colonial: Investigaciones y noticias para el conocimiento de su historia (Caracas: Editorial Arte, 1965), pp. 149-150; and Roland D. Hussey, The Caracas Company, 1728-1784: A Study in the History of Spanish Monopolistic Trade (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 87-88.

<sup>3</sup>"Tropa de los Regimientos de Infantería de Zamora y Sevilla que se embarcó . . . ," Cartagena, October 4, 1749, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Caracas, legajo 863-A (hereafter AGI CAR 863-A); and "Estado que comprehende las plazas," Caracas, January 12, 1750, AGI CAR 863-A.

<sup>4</sup>"Noticia de los diez Piquetes que de los Regimientos de Infantería de la Guarnición de Cádiz . . . a la orden del Mariscal de Campo Don Felipe Ricardos," Cádiz, April 4, 1751, AGI CAR 864.

<sup>5</sup>Lockhart and Schwartz, Early Latin America, pp. 315-321.

## CHAPTER II ARMY ADMINISTRATION AND REFORM

The expansion and reorganization of the regular army in Venezuela during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, as an instrumentality of broader administrative reform, was an extension of an ongoing plan to strengthen Spanish defenses begun on the peninsula earlier in the century. Following the example of his grandfather, Louis XIV (1643-1714), Philip V (1700-1746) initiated imperial reorganization by tightening military administration and training, first in the regular army and then in the militia. Further centralization and reorganization, also based upon French models, followed in the wake of army reform.

During the 1740s British attacks on the Venezuelan coastline and an internal rebellion of dissatisfied planters threatened Spanish control of the colony. In response to these threats, and not as a component of a preconceived empire-wide reform, Ferdinand VI (1746-1759) ordered the strengthening of the army in Caracas Province. The core of this improved force was reorganized peninsular units transferred to Venezuela from Spain. From this base, which anticipated the rise of Caracas to dominance over the outlying provinces, reorganization spread to Maracaibo,

Cumaná, Guayana, Margarita Island, and Barinas. As on the peninsula the regular army was the vanguard of Bourbon centralization.

### Military Reforms Under Philip V

At the turn of the eighteenth century the Spanish crown could not have sent an army of occupation to Venezuela. For over a century Spain had lacked the finances and manpower to fight the wars its leaders had brought upon themselves. Policing the empire's backwater outposts was out of the question. An inefficient economic system, an antiquated social structure, and a complacent and ineffective administration, all under the leadership of the decaying Hapsburg dynasty, made Spain's position vis-a-vis other European powers far different than it had been only a century before. Spanish greatness during the sixteenth century had given way to political incompetence and imperial decay.

When Charles II died without an heir on November 1, 1700, many European powers went to war against France rather than allow his designated successor--Philip of Anjou, a Bourbon--accede the throne of Spain. The peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713 formalized the European balance-of-power that had emerged during the decline of Spain during the previous century. The British Empire

expanded, the Austrians received a questionable prize (the Spanish Netherlands), and the Dutch were largely ignored. The Allied Powers allowed the loser, Louis XIV of France, to put his grandson, Philip, on the Spanish throne. For the next century the same international pressures would threaten Spain's security and push the new Bourbon dynasty to reverse the inertia of the previous century through dynamic royal initiative.

If Philip V (1701-1746) were to insure the survival of the empire it would have to be modernized by the crown as the centralizing power. The traditional political authorities, whether religious, familial, or ethnic, would have to be replaced by the secular national authority of the monarch. But centralization would not occur in a vacuum according to abstract political theory. Throughout the empire the systematization, rationalization, and centralization of political authority took place in response to external threats and demands. Wars and local rebellions made the crown more sensitive to security, leading to military reform on the peninsula under the new monarch.<sup>1</sup>

Philip selected as a model his grandfather's army, which had undergone a fundamental functional transformation during the seventeenth century. Louis XIV had created a national standing army to replace autonomous mercenary bands. The former was a permanent force of regular soldiers which could be utilized by the government to

attack enemies, defend territory, and enforce domestic objectives. That type of army emerged in Spain during the first decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Spanish military reform during the war focused on rationalizing organization and adopting better weapons. Rifle and bayonet replaced musket, harquebus, and pike to increase combat capability. The king also ordered the creation of a new tactical grouping, the brigade, and the transformation of infantry corps (tercios) and cavalry units (trozos) into regiments as the basic organizational units.<sup>3</sup> Both the artillery and engineer branches continued as distinct corps with their own command and staff structures.<sup>4</sup>

The regiment was the basic unit of infantry organization and at full strength totaled approximately 1,200 men. In theory each regiment had two battalions of eight to twelve companies each. In practice this was rarely the case as a regiment usually had one battalion, making regiment synonymous with battalion. Its commander was a colonel, who was assisted by a major (sargento mayor). At full strength each company had seventy-seven enlisted men and three officers: a captain, lieutenant, and second lieutenant (subteniente).

Philip also reformed the Spanish militia. In 1734 he ordered them placed on a "disciplined" footing. This involved forming them into the same kind of units as in

the regular army, providing them with uniforms and arms, and assigning regular army officers to train them.<sup>6</sup>

After reforming the regular forces and the militias of Spain, Philip V turned his attention to the Indies. There, as on the peninsula, military reorganization was undertaken in reaction to external threats and not as part of a preconceived plan. In the year of Philip's militia reforms (1734) the provinces that became Venezuela were open to attack, but not defenseless. A skeleton structure could be reformed to meet the imperatives of the eighteenth century. For two hundred years presidios had been constructed, been raised or crumbled from neglect, and subsequently rebuilt. The forts in Maracaibo, La Guaira, Cumaná, Guayana, and on Margarita Island and their small garrisons would be the base upon which an expanded military presence would be built.<sup>7</sup>

Two circumstances caused the king to focus his attention on Venezuela: the successful activities of the Caracas Company and the British invasions of the colony in the late 1730s and early 1740s. Both the increased value of the area and the resulting rise in royal interest owed to the activities of the monopoly which began operations in the 1730s. Due to its operations the economy grew rapidly causing an increase in contraband trade, in the attractiveness of Venezuelan ports to foreign military forces, and in the threat of dissatisfied colonists to

rebel. To protect its investment and trade the Company absorbed the costs of defending Venezuela.<sup>8</sup>

During the 1730s and 1740s the monopoly's profits increased, as did expenditures to defend them. To combat contrabandistas the company built the Castillo of San Felipe in Puerto Cabello at a cost of 260,000 pesos.<sup>9</sup> From this new base and those in the fortified ports established earlier along the coast, the Company's ships patrolled the shoreline in search of illegal trade. Many of these ships carried infantrymen and were outfitted for war in case the English, Dutch, or French appeared.<sup>10</sup>

British ships attacked Venezuelan fortifications six times between 1739 and 1743. The bombardment of La Guaira forced Spanish authorities to dispatch 300 men of the Victoria Regiment, a peninsular unit, to Caracas Province. Their arrival in 1740 marked the beginning of a three-decade period of increased attention to the military imperatives of the colony. Although intended to rotate with other peninsular units, the force did not depart for ten years. Nevertheless, at mid-century there was no unified army in the colony, but rather autonomous companies of soldiers (compañias sueltas) stationed in Caracas, Maracaibo, Cumaná, and on Margarita Island. All were under the command of the local governor and reported directly to the authorities in Bogotá or Madrid.<sup>11</sup>

The Establishment of the Caracas Battalion

The outbreak of the León Rebellion in 1749 demonstrated to the new monarch, Ferdinand VI (1746-1759), that while the colony might be able to defend itself against invasion, further reorganization was essential to maintain internal order. To put down the uprising Governor Diego Luis Castellanos appealed to royal authorities in Cumaná, Santo Domingo, and Spain for troops.<sup>12</sup> Cumaná, with the largest concentration of forces in the area, offered the best hope for relief. Governor Diego Tabares had over 400 men at his disposal, stationed at the large fort near Araya, the two fortresses in Cumaná, and the presidio near Guayana.<sup>13</sup> The governor on Margarita Island could not spare any of the 50 men garrisoned on the island,<sup>14</sup> and the 161 soldiers posted in Maracaibo were too few to assist Caracas and protect the presidio in the town and the two forts guarding the entrance to the bay.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, small forces from Cumaná and Santo Domingo provided temporary assistance to Castellanos until reinforcements could arrive from Spain.<sup>16</sup>

The crown dispatched two battalion-sized forces of 600 men to stabilize the Province of Caracas. The first departed Cartagena on October 4, 1749, accompanied by the new governor, Julián de Arriaga. The majority of the troops were selected from the Regiments of Zamora, Sevilla,



and Córdoba.<sup>17</sup> A second 600-man force followed eighteen months later with Arriaga's replacement, Field Marshal Felipe Ricardos.<sup>18</sup> These reinforcements, supplemented by remnants of the Victoria Regiment, brought the total number of regular army soldiers in the province to 1,341.<sup>19</sup>

By 1752 the rebellion was put down, causing royal authorities to evaluate the future of the regular army in the province. Two things were clear: first, Castellanos had overestimated the military threat; and, second, local resources were insufficient to maintain such a large force. While the units accompanying Arriaga and Ricardos no doubt contributed to the restoration of order, the grievances of León and his followers could be addressed by administrative reforms. Furthermore, neither the Caracas Company nor the royal treasury could afford to support so many soldiers. Transportation and maintenance of these new forces between 1749 and 1753 cost nearly 400,000 pesos,<sup>20</sup> while revenues for the four year period preceding the rebellion were only 468,039 pesos.<sup>21</sup> Obviously this revenue imbalance could not long be continued.

Relying on the recommendations of Governor Ricardos, the crown decided to apply the army reforms enacted on the peninsula earlier in the century to Caracas Province. In October 1752 the army command ordered that a battalion-size force of 879 officers and enlisted men remain

garrisoned in the area.<sup>22</sup> The 500 surplus soldiers returned to Spain the following year.<sup>23</sup> The decision to maintain such a large force after the end of the threat of rebellion in and around Caracas reflected the latter's increased commercial importance vis-a-vis the other provinces. It represented the second stage of the shift begun with the building of the fort in Puerto Cabello and the garrisoning of the Victoria Regiment in the area for ten years. Whereas defense forces had earlier concentrated in Cunamá, they now shifted to Caracas.

In 1753 the crown ordered that the regular army forces in the province remain permanently as the core of a new Caracas Battalion. The unit's regulations called for thirteen infantry companies of seventy men each, an artillery company of one hundred, and a cavalry squadron of thirty-five, all under the command of a general staff in Caracas. The battalion would garrison that city, La Guaira, and Puerto Cabello. All of the original officers and men were peninsulars with the exception of one pardo company in La Guaira which had been in service during the León Rebellion.<sup>24</sup>

During the remainder of the century metropolitan authorities made minor adjustments in the composition of the battalion. Owing to the inability to retain officers and the desertion of large numbers of soldiers, the crown

in 1759 ordered a reduction in the number of companies.<sup>25</sup> In 1767 the Santa Fé Battalion, which was part of a large force which had shipwrecked off the Brazilian coast on its way to Buenos Aires, sought refuge in La Guaira.<sup>26</sup> The next year, in response to repeated requests from Governor José Solano, the inspector general of the army of America, Alejandro O'Reilly, ordered these troops to merge with the depleted forces of the Caracas Battalion in order to bring the garrison back up to full strength.<sup>27</sup> On July 6, 1768, army authorities in Madrid issued new regulations to supersede those of 1753 but did not substantially alter the structure instituted in the original orders. These regulations remained in effect until the end of the colonial period.<sup>28</sup>

Both the 1753 and 1768 Regulations called for the addition of a second battalion, but there were only enough financial resources and manpower to complete one. Nearly every governor and captain general of the province complained that the force could not adequately protect La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, and Caracas and that the additional battalion should be formed.<sup>29</sup> Although the crown did order the number of infantry companies raised from eight to twelve in 1797 and the second battalion staffed in 1803, there were never more than eleven companies of the regular army in Caracas Province.<sup>30</sup> In October 1805 Captain General

Manuel de Guevara informed Manuel de Godoy that the constantly undersized force had never been adequately supplied or trained.<sup>31</sup>

#### Militia Reorganization in Caracas

The prohibitive cost of garrisoning regular forces caused the crown to depend on militias as the backbone of external defense. As had been the case on the peninsula since 1734, the Madrid army command ordered the creation of disciplined militia units in Caracas Province in 1760.<sup>32</sup> Previously the militia consisted of several untrained companies which could be called up in an emergency. These had existed in Venezuela since settlement in the sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup> The most important difference between the previous companies and the new disciplined units was the assignment of regular army officers and non-commissioned officers for instruction and command.<sup>34</sup> The functions of the disciplined militias in Venezuela were to guard prisoners, capture fugitive slaves, pacify Indians, maintain order, and defend the coastline.<sup>35</sup>

With the establishment of the Caracas Battalion complete, royal officials turned their attention to the militias in the province. Complying with the 1760 order Governor José Solano dispatched nine regular officers to enroll men residing in forty-four towns into militia units.

But because of the scarcity of officers, only two regular army officers were assigned permanently to the reformed units during the decade.<sup>36</sup>

This initial reorganization was expanded in 1771 as part of the empire-wide reforms initiated by the inspector general of the army, Alejandro O'Reilly. In that year he ordered a tightening of the command structure to bring it further into line with peninsular militia units and assigned forty regular army officers to serve permanently with the citizen units. Following the reforms of the Cuban militias during the 1760s, O'Reilly ordered the formation of white and pardo infantry battalions in Caracas, Valencia, and the Valles de Aragua. These disciplined units, which were enrolled during the summer of 1771, were under the command of a civilian colonel, who was assisted by a cadre of regular army officers, sergeants, and corporals.<sup>37</sup> In addition to these six infantry battalions, one white and one pardo in each of the three population centers (Caracas, Valencia, and the Valles de Aragua), two white and three pardo artillery companies were formed in La Guaira and Puerto Cabello.<sup>38</sup> Command of these forces fell to the commandante de armas, a position created in the former in 1772 and the latter in 1776.<sup>39</sup>

The command structure for the three blanco and three pardo militia infantry battalions mirrored that of the Caracas Battalion. The only soldiers receiving monthly

pay, however, were members of the regular army assigned to the battalions. The major (sargento mayor), adjutants (ayudantes), and the lieutenants in the white battalions were regular army officers, as were the subinspectors and adjudants assigned to the pardo units. These officers were taken from extras after the reformation of the Caracas Battalion in 1768 and from the Regiment of Lombardi which had arrived from Spain in 1770 to reinforce the Caribbean ports. These postings doubled the number of regular army officers in Caracas Province. In July 1772 Captain General José Carlos de Agüero reported that the reform was complete and total militia forces in the province numbered 5,853 officers and men.<sup>40</sup>

The first evaluation of the militia reorganization was submitted in 1784 by Captain General Manuel González. As in other areas of colonial administration, he believed the regulations were fine in theory but left much to be desired when put into practice. Strict adherence to the ordinances greatly damaged agriculture and commerce, and therefore the royal treasury. Due to the nature of their work, militiamen could not train one day a week as the regulations called for, because besides the laborers and artisans there were a large number working in tiendas, tabernas, and bodegas, and many working on ranches. These were essential tasks and when faced with militia duty or a

fine these men fled their workplaces to areas where there was no militia.<sup>41</sup>

In any event, González continued, it was not worth the money. As things stood the defense of the area was poor and the entire province exposed to attack. If the defense of the province were to improve without damaging the treasury, he recommended two minor militia reforms. The first was to cut the time each militiaman was away from his work. After the initial training period, González believed it would be enough for the forces to train one day every other month, rather than weekly, and eight days once a year in December, which was most convenient for the growers. He concluded that if training was shortened, instruction could be handled by non-commissioned officers, for a savings of two-thirds of the 60,000 pesos annual outlay.<sup>42</sup> It took twelve years for the crown to respond, however; not until 1796 did it order the reduction of veteran cadres assigned to militia instruction and command.<sup>43</sup>

Civilians also expressed reservations in 1784. With the exception of one group of growers the large landowners acquiesced in the reform of the militias and both they and their sons served in the officer corps. The exception stemmed from hostilities between two groups of hacendados in the Valles de Aragua. The owners of añil plantations petitioned the crown to have their workers exempted from militia service. As in the evaluation of Captain General

González, the growers maintained that military service took workers away from production. But their main complaint was that militia Colonel Juan Vicente Bolívar snared their laborers, but not his own. As if the harm to their haciendas was not enough, they concluded, the rights enjoyed by the militiamen through the fuero militar subverted the social, political, and moral order of society.<sup>44</sup>

In 1799 Captain General Manuel Guevara voiced similar complaints. He held that by making pardos militia officers the social order was subverted as they had heretofore only known whites as their superiors. The use of military uniforms and insignias by pardo militia officers caused the castas to assume that people of their own class were equal to whites. While this appeared to be a small complaint, Guevara believed in time this minor problem would result in more serious confusion, leading to the destruction of civil harmony. He did, however, recommend that the pardo militias be maintained, but with white officers.<sup>45</sup>

The final evaluation of the militia battalions came in January 1801 from the commander of the Caracas regular army battalion, Juan Manuel de Cajigal, in a report to military authorities in Madrid. He, too, believed the pardos unsuitable for military service, not because of their threat to the social order, but because they were unreliable. If the crown were to rely on white militiamen,



however, the economy would certainly fail as nearly all of them were mayordomos on sugar, cacao, and coffee haciendas. These whites could not supervise both the militias and agricultural production. He recommended that the crown disband the pardo units and raise another regular army battalion. Nevertheless, the disciplined militias raised in 1771 stayed in place until the end of the colonial period.<sup>46</sup>

#### Reform in Outlying Provinces

The pattern of reorganization of the outlying provinces followed that of Caracas Province: tightening of the administration of the regular companies, enrollment of militia companies, and assignment of regular cadres to command and instruct the militias. The most salient characteristic of this reorganization was the emergence of Caracas as the seat of army command for Venezuela. From the time of creation of the Caracas Battalion in 1753 the governor of the province was the de facto military commander of the area, although this fact was not confirmed formally until the establishment of the captaincy general in 1777. Army centralization, therefore, preceded administrative and fiscal reform centered in Caracas.

Reform of the army in Maracaibo began in the 1750s under Governor Francisco Javier Joreno de Mendoza and Colonel Antonio Guill; the latter dispatched by Felipe

Ricardos, the governor in Caracas.<sup>47</sup> The three regular army companies in Maracaibo dated from 1681 and garrisoned the presidio in the port and Fort Zaparas and Fort San Carlos which protected the entrance to the city. After the receipt of the report by Colonel Guill, the crown approved new regulations in 1758 which more clearly defined salaries and command functions than previous directives.<sup>48</sup>

The reorganization of the Maracaibo forces under an officer dispatched from Caracas was the first step toward control of the former by authorities in the latter. By 1765, when the governor in Maracaibo reported the reorganization complete, two peninsular officers of the Caracas Battalion had been transferred to permanent duty in the western province.<sup>49</sup> The trend toward centralization in Caracas was reinforced in 1781 when the crown ordered that the local regulations be replaced by those of the Caracas Battalion.<sup>50</sup>

Further militia reform began in the 1770s, following the pattern established in Caracas. In 1777 the captain general in Caracas ordered the governor in Maracaibo to create a militia artillery company of pardos. Metropolitan authorities two years later directed the arming and equipping of nine militia companies, four each of blancos and morenos, and one of blanco cavalry. Unlike the case in Caracas, these forces were not assigned veteran officers on a permanent basis until 1805, and only then to the white

companies. Command of the four regular army and ten militia companies fell to a commandante who also served as civil and military commander in the absence of the governor.<sup>51</sup>

During the last two decades before the wars of independence there were minor alterations in the defense structure in Maracaibo. In 1791 the crown dispatched three regular officers to nearby Barinas on temporary assignment. Not until 1803, when Second Lieutenant Pedro Ponce took his post did Barinas have a permanent company.<sup>57</sup> At the outbreak of the wars for independence seven years later there were thirty-eight regular army soldiers on duty in Barinas.<sup>58</sup>

Defense in the eastern provinces of Venezuela was centered in Cumaná. Since the 1620s troops had garrisoned the Castillo de Araya, built to protect the nearby salt beds. By the middle of the eighteenth century there were also two small forts and a redoubt in the city of Cumaná, a fort in Guayana, and two on Maragarita Island, all having permanent garrisons. There was also a small detachment of soldiers on Trinidad Island that rotated back to Cumaná every few months. Prior to the arrival of the forces under Arriaga and Ricardos at mid-century and the subsequent creation of a permanent battalion in Caracas, the eastern province of Cumaná with the large fort at Araya was the most fortified area of what would become modern Venezuela.

As in Caracas and Maracaibo military reform in Cumaná occurred in three phases: tightening of the administration of the regular companies, enrollment of militia companies, and assignment of regular army cadres to command and instruct the militias. In 1751 Governor Diego Tabares issued regulations, modeled on those of Santo Domingo, calling for a force of 409 officers and men, of which 246 were to garrison the fort at Araya, 104 in the presidio at Santo Tomé in Guayana, and the remaining 59 in forts in the city of Cumaná. In addition a few soldiers were assigned to protect the Capuchino missions and Trinidad Island.<sup>59</sup> The new orders were intended to tighten administration as in Maracaibo in 1758, and not to create a new force as was the case in Caracas in 1753.

The most important alteration in the defense system was the demolition of the Araya castillo in 1762 and the transfer of the officers and men to the Cumaná garrisons and the newly created comandancia in Guayana. Not only were the 246 soldiers transferred, but also the 1,092 men, women, and children who lived in the small pueblo near the fort. According to royal authorities such a large force was no longer necessary to protect the salt beds which had been invaded periodically during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries but were no longer threatened.<sup>60</sup>

In July 1779 day-to-day command of the three regular army companies was taken from the governor and given to a newly appointed commandante. The latter supervised the regular forces, the militia units, and the artillery company created the same year. As in Maracaibo he served as political and military leader in the province in case the governor was absent. The creation of the new command position, the artillery company, and the command and staff group were detailed in the Regulations of July 8, 1779.<sup>61</sup> The latter, modeled upon the Caracas Battalion's 1768 regulations, pointed again to the centralization underway since the 1740s.

Militia reorganization in Cumaná began at mid-century. During the 1750s, paralleling the reforms in Caracas, Governor Mateo Gual formed white and pardo militia companies in and around Cumaná. In December 1757 he reported a total force of 863 militiamen which could be called up in case of emergency. The urban units created by Gual in the 1750s were put on disciplined footing in 1779, although no regular army officers were assigned for their training until 1799.<sup>63</sup> As was the case in Maracaibo, militia reform came late to Cumaná, and was not as pervasive as in Caracas. There was, however, one very important difference. From the date of their creation, the militias of Cumaná, especially the pardos, were trained and saw action when the province was threatened. They were called to active

duty to aid Trinidad in the 1780s, in 1797 were dispatched to Guayana, during the next year to Carúpano, and off and on in Cumaná itself.<sup>64</sup>

In 1762 the crown ordered the separation of the province of Guayana from Cumaná, making it directly subject to the Viceroyalty of New Granada. At the same time the citizens and soldiers were ordered to move from Santo Tomé to Angostura, thirty-four leagues up the Orinoco River. In April the following year royal authorities approved the creation of three infantry companies in the new province to guard the Orinoco, garrison the forts in the old and new locations, to counter the Portuguese along the Negro River, protect the missions, and guard the Meta, Cazanare, and Barinas Rivers. The soldiers were transferred to the new force from the garrison at Santo Tomé, the escoltas guarding the missions of the Jesuits and Cominicans, and the old fort at Araya.<sup>65</sup>

The posting of the three companies occurred in 1767 and there were no other major changes in the military organization in Guayana prior to independence. As in Maracaibo and Cumaná the post of comandante was created in 1774 to relieve the governor of responsibility for the day-to-day supervision of the three regular companies and the militias.<sup>66</sup> An artillery company was added the next year.<sup>67</sup> There was a militia force on paper, but only one regular army officer was ever assigned for its training.<sup>69</sup>

As was the case in Maracaibo, military reform in Guayana was little and late and did not alter the basic system in place since mid-century.

The smallest permanent force in colonial Venezuela was the company of infantrymen on Margarita Island, which was always under the supervision of the authorities in Caracas. The small detachment was split between the Castillo de Pampatar and the Castillo de Santa Rosa. The Regulations of April 6, 1680, called for a fifty-four man force commanded by the governor. As in Maracaibo and Cumaná the force was in poor shape at mid-century and had not been paid for several years.<sup>69</sup> The only structural change for the regular army company was its placement on permanent "fixed" status in 1776, which meant assignment of peninsular officers and regular pay for the soldiers.<sup>70</sup>

Militia companies were placed on disciplined footing when the regular army was changed to fixed status. A cadre of regular army officers and enlisted men arrived the next year to instruct the militia force consisting of four white and four pardo infantry companies, a white artillery company, and a white cavalry company. As in Cumaná, this original contingent was replaced in 1799 from officers assigned to the captaincy general from peninsular units. Since the forces on Margarita Island were directly subject to the captain general, reform was more complete than in Maracaibo, Cumaná, or Guayana.<sup>71</sup>

Until its loss to the British in 1797, there were also regular army and militia companies on Trinidad Island. Since 1734 the island had been under the jurisdiction of the province of Cumaná, which sent a few enlisted men from its veteran units to protect the area. In 1760 Governor Felipe Remírez of Caracas reported that there were ten regular army soldiers on the island to maintain order and protect the approximately two thousand inhabitants.<sup>72</sup> There was no fort or arms and primary defense responsibilities therefore fell to a 173-man militia force that could be called up in case of emergency.<sup>73</sup> In 1786 the crown ordered the creation of a permanent force of four hundred formed from units in Cumaná, Caracas, Maracaibo, and Spain.<sup>74</sup> In 1790 the Consejo de Guerra in Madrid decided to add an artillery company, which would have brought the force to 450 men.<sup>75</sup> A review of the army records, however, reveals that the permanent force never exceeded 300 prior to the British attack and victory in February 1797.<sup>76</sup> Royal efforts to protect the eastern flank of Venezuela by stationing permanent companies on the island were too little and too late to combat British expansion in the Caribbean.

A review of the total forces in Venezuela during the second half of the eighteenth century reveals several characteristics, which are detailed in Table 2:1. The number of regular army forces garrisoned there increased



Table 2:1. Average Number of Infantry and Artillery Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Soldiers Receiving Monthly Pay, 1750-1810.

Period	Caracas	Margarita	Maracaibo	Cumaná	Guayana	Barinas	Total
1750-1759	637	54	160	328 <sup>c</sup>	98	--	1,277
1760-1769	548	54	127	285	207	--	1,221
1770-1779	717	68	180	232	272	--	1,469
1780-1789	768	84	315	248	176	--	1,591
1790-1799	657 <sup>a</sup>	92	349 <sup>b</sup>	279	183	--	1,560 <sup>d</sup>
1800-1810	641	90	322	280	167	38	1,538 <sup>e</sup>

Source: Reviews of Troops, Caracas, Margarita, Maracaibo, Cumaná, and Guayana, 1749-1803, AGI CAR 80, 90, 112, 850, 851, 852, 854, 856, 857, 862, 857, 862, 864, 865, 866, 868, 869, 876, 878, 879, 880, and 882; "List of Total Forces in the Captaincy General of Venezuela," Caracas, January 31, 1800, AGS GM 7300; and "Estado que manifiesta la tropa que queda de guarnición en esta Provincia de Guayana en esta fecha con expresión de los destinos en que se halla," Guayana, March 1, 1809, in "Report of the Special Commission Appointed by the President January 4, 1896, to Examine and Report Upon the True Divisional Line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana," 2 parts (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1898), II:671.

<sup>a</sup>From 1763 to 1797 approximately 300 militiamen were placed on active duty status, of whom were sent to Santo Domingo with three regular army companies. This figure represents those remaining in Caracas, La Guaira, and Puerto Cabello.

<sup>b</sup>From 1797 on 200 of these forces served on the frontier in Sinamianca.

<sup>c</sup>Approximately one-third of these forces were on the Boundary Expedition.

<sup>d</sup>From 1787 to 1797 there were approximately 300 regular army forces assigned on a permanent basis to Trinidad Island which were not included in this figure.

<sup>e</sup>In addition for much of the decade some elements of the Queen's Regiment were assigned to temporary duty in Caracas, but have not been included.

during the eighteenth century, with the turning point being 1753 with the creation of the Caracas Battalion. This new force doubled the number of men already assigned to the area and shifted the focus of military power to the future capital. From mid-century on the numbers increased slightly, reflecting the influx of peninsular officers and men assigned to command and instruct the reformed militias. Between forty and fifty percent of the soldiers receiving monthly salary served in the Province of Caracas. The next largest concentrations were in Maracaibo and Cumaná, followed by Guayana, and a small force on Margarita Island.

There was a wide variation between the composition of the regular forces in Caracas and in the outlying provinces. During the 1750 to 1810 period a majority of the officers and men serving in the Caracas Battalion were born in Europe, while elsewhere in Venezuela they were overwhelmingly criollos. All of the soldiers assigned to the Caracas Battalion in 1753 were Europeans, while at the end of the colonial period a little over half were born outside America. As indicated in Table 2:2 the high point of Americans serving in the ranks was reached during the 1780s, the only decade when non-Peninsulars outnumbered those born in Spain. The large numbers of soldiers from Andalusia and the Canary Islands reflects

Table 2:2. Birthplaces of Soldiers in the Caracas Battalion in 1775, 1786, and 1803.

Birthplace	1775	1786	1803
Andalucia	148	56	124
Levante <sup>a</sup>	32	19	18
Extremadura	27	6	6
New Castile	40	5	6
Old Castile	61	40	40
Aragon	33	8	8
Cataluna	17	9	22
Galicia	29	22	25
Zona Cantabrica <sup>b</sup>	16	11	11
Navarra	2	4	0
Insular <sup>c</sup>	4	86	41
North Africa	2	1	0
Peninsulars	411 ( 70.1%)	267 ( 40.8%)	301 ( 54.7%)
Other Europeans	102 ( 17.4%)	36 ( 5.5%)	23 ( 4.2%)
Americans	73 ( 12.5%)	352 ( 53.7%)	226 ( 41.1%)
Total	586 (100.0%)	655 (100.0%)	500 (100.0)

Source: Review of Troops, Caracas, February 28, 1771, AGI CAR 850; Review of Troops, Caracas, December 31, 1786, AGI CAR 851; and Review of Troops, Caracas, June 30, 1803, AGI CAR 857.

<sup>a</sup>The Levant includes Albacete, Alicante, Castellon de la Plana, Murcia, and Valencia.

<sup>b</sup>Zona Cantabrica includes Oviedo, Santander, Bilbao, Alava, San Sebastian, and Vitoria.

<sup>c</sup>Insular includes the Canaries and the Balares.

the successful operation of recruiting efforts in those areas by staff officers of the Caracas Battalion.<sup>78</sup>

Highest American participation in the ranks was in the forces assigned to Maracaibo and Margarita Island. We do not have information on soldiers' origins for either at the end of the colonial period, but the reviews for the 1770s and 1780s indicate a larger percentage of non-Europeans than in Caracas. In 1776, 1778, 1780, and 1782 ninety-five percent of the soldiers serving in Maracaibo were Americans, and in 1786 eighty-nine percent.<sup>79</sup> The only breakdown located for the small force on Margarita Island was that of December 1786 which showed that ninety-five percent of the soldiers were born in the Indies.<sup>80</sup>

The origin of the soldiers in Cumaná and Guayana fell between the extremes of Caracas and Maracaibo. An examination of the Reviews of Troops for Cumaná showed that in 1777 nearly eighty-five percent of the soldiers were born in America, ten percent in Spain, and five percent in other European countries.<sup>81</sup> By 1802 the percentage of Americans had fallen to seventy percent, Spaniards rose to thirteen percent, and there was a large increase of non-Spanish Europeans to seventeen percent.<sup>82</sup> In Guayana during the 1770s and 1780s approximately seventy percent of the soldiers were Americans and the remainder peninsulares and other Europeans.<sup>83</sup>

With exception of a pardo company kept on active duty to perform menial tasks in La Guaira from 1750 to 1780, there were no pardo or black regular army companies in colonial Venezuela. It is logical to assume, however, that in the peripheral provinces--with their large percentage of criollo soldiers--many of the rank and file were castas. Both local and metropolitan authorities preferred whites, but it was difficult to retain them in the service.<sup>84</sup> While exact figures on desertions, deaths, and retirements were difficult to establish for enlisted men, there are statistics on a group of 101 European replacements who joined the Caracas Battalion in 1758. The group arrived on two ships, the first landing at La Guaira on December 4, 1757, and the second on May 25, 1758. After ten years only 40 of the 101 remained on active duty; 14 had died, 18 retired, and 29 had deserted.<sup>85</sup>

#### Burdens of Military Expense

The increase in the numbers of soldiers assigned permanently to Caracas Province, the reorganization of the companies stationed in the outlying provinces, and the assignment of regular army cadres to militia instruction and command increased expenditures for defense. Prior to the 1750s revenues were sufficient in Caracas Province to support the small garrisons at La Guaira and Puerto

Cabello, but not to maintain the occupation force sent from Spain to put down the León Rebellion. To provide for these troops, which in 1753 became the core of the new Caracas Battalion, the crown ordered an increase in the alcabala (sales tax) from two and one-half to five percent.<sup>86</sup> As trade increased during the 1760s this income was sufficient to maintain the 800-man force. By the time of the new regulations in 1768 the treasury in Caracas was able to support not only the force in the capital city, but could also provide funds for the companies on Margarita Island and in Cumaná which depended on Caracas.

Expenditures in Caracas, La Guaira, and Puerto Cabello for the forces assigned to the province on a permanent basis peaked in the 1780s when they were more than twice the level of the 1740s. According to Santiago Gerardo Suárez the total annual amount allotted to the defense of the province of Caracas in the mid-1740s was 150,000 pesos.<sup>87</sup> Due to the creation of the Caracas Battalion and the assignment of cadres to militia instruction and command, defense expenditures rose to 258,656 pesos in 1771, to 197,362 in 1775, and 181,983 in 1778. These amounts were 89.5 percent of total royal expenditures in 1771, 68 percent in 1775, and 67.3 percent in 1778.<sup>88</sup> Even with these added expenditures income exceeded expenses during the 1770s; in 1778, for instance, the surplus was 50,368 pesos.<sup>89</sup> As the size of

the forces in the province remained approximately the same from 1771 to the end of the colonial era, the 1775 army expenditure figure of 197,362 pesos can be taken to be representative of total military outlays during peacetime and when no major construction projects were funded.

In addition to the approximately 200,000 peso annual outlay for salaries, pensions, medical care, and supplies in Caracas Province, substantial sums were spent on fortifications which at times doubled defense expenditures. The amount disbursed to improve the fortifications at La Guaira and Puerto Cabello varied widely, ranging from a low of 5,143 pesos in 1775,<sup>90</sup> to a high of 227,546 from July 1787 to June 1788.<sup>91</sup> Perhaps most representative of expenditures for fortifications in the province during peacetime was the five year period from 1776 to 1781 when the total for La Guaira and Puerto Cabello was 349,832 pesos, of which 124,699 were allotted to Puerto Cabello and the remainder to La Guaira.<sup>92</sup> The average for these years was 87,458 pesos.<sup>93</sup> Construction in the city of Caracas was for the most part limited to the barracks built for the Caracas Battalion in the Campo de la Santísima Trinidad, completed in 1791.<sup>94</sup>

The officers and men assigned to garrison the two forts on the island of Margarita were paid from funds sent from Caracas. The total cost called for in a Real Cédula of April 6, 1680, was 6,300 pesos, which included

the salaries of fifty soldiers, four officers, a chaplain, and a scribe. Added to this total was 2,062 pesos and 4 reales earned by the governor, making the total amount needed to finance the government at mid-century approximately 8,400 pesos. The money sent from Caracas arrived sporadically prior to the establishment of the intendency in 1777, and in 1751 the treasury on the island was in arrears 56,875 pesos; no one had been paid for five years.<sup>95</sup>

For most of the 1750s none of the officers or soldiers received their salaries. When funds did arrive, they came from stopgap measures which called for the Caracas Company to supply them in specie and goods. For example, in 1760 an agreement between the authorities in Caracas and the company led to the latter's paying the forces on Margarita Island with 2,000 pesos in clothing, 2,000 in cacao, and 2,300 in specie.<sup>96</sup>

After the administrative reforms of the 1770s military expenditures increased and the troops were paid promptly. By establishing the intendency system the crown received more revenue and provided for regular payment of the troops. In the same year the assignment of regular army cadres to militia duty nearly doubled military expenditures, but with the improved fiscal administration even these added expenditures did not hinder regular payment. Prior to 1777 annual military outlays



were 6,300 pesos, in 1777 the amount rose to 11,691,<sup>97</sup> and in 1806 was 10,092.<sup>98</sup>

Prior to the establishment of the captaincy general supervision of the companies in Maracaibo fell to the vice-roy in Bogotá. In 1748 total military expenditures for the province were 36,670 pesos, the majority of which came from the treasury in the capital.<sup>99</sup> Under the knife of Governor Francisco Javier Moreno de Mendoza the total fell to 19,154 pesos in 1754 by stopping repairs on the forts and cutting provisions.<sup>100</sup> But new regulations in 1758 and the establishment of a fourth company in 1781 increased expenditures three times.<sup>101</sup> In 1784 military outlays were 65,163 pesos which were 68.1 percent of total expenditures in the province.<sup>102</sup> From then on costs remained approximately the same until the end of the colonial era.<sup>103</sup>

The forces in Cumaná had considerable problems receiving pay until the establishment of the intendancy.<sup>104</sup> By royal order issued in 1724 the cost of garrisoning the large fort at Araya and the three smaller ones in Cumaná was to be shared by New Spain and Caracas. Payment was sporadic and by mid-century authorities in New Spain suggested that their contribution be shifted to Caracas which the forces in Cumaná protected. Inoring the Mexican protests, Cumaná Governor Diego Tabares in 1751 issued new regulations which put military expenditures

in the province at 57,485 pesos, of which 42,935 were to come from New Spain and the remainder from Caracas.<sup>105</sup>

Payment problems continued until the crown decided to abandon the fort at Araya and increase the size of the force in Guayana in 1762.<sup>106</sup> The majority of the troops stationed in Araya moved to reinforce Guayana, which until 1781 was maintained by funds from Bogotá, therefore relieving New Spain from the responsibility of paying the troops from Cumaná. Consequently, the treasury in Caracas was responsible for maintaining defense forces in Cumaná, both before and after the establishment of the intendency. In 1774 defense expenditures in Cumaná were 29,548 pesos,<sup>107</sup> and in 1802 were 32,254.<sup>108</sup>

Costs increased most in Guayana, which the crown separated from the jurisdiction of Cumaná in 1762.<sup>109</sup> Previously the garrison in Santo Tomé consisted of a single company assigned from the force in Cumaná.<sup>110</sup> In that year the crown ordered the new governor, Lieutenant Colonel Joaquín de Mendoza, to move the vecinos and the soldiers thirty-four leagues up the Orinoco River to Angostura.<sup>111</sup> At the same time a new permanent three company force was created, manned largely by soldiers previously assigned to Fort Araya.<sup>112</sup> The move was necessary to protect the entrance to the river, while also slowing contrabandistas and Carib slave raiders. By the time of his departure in December 1766 Moreno had

supervised the construction of government buildings and over a hundred private dwellings.<sup>113</sup> From 1767 on the cost of staff, the three infantry companies, and the artillery company remained approximately constant. Prior to the assignment of the permanent force in Angostura, spending approximated that of Margarita Island, 10,000 pesos annually.<sup>114</sup> In 1771 the amount rose to 36,882 pesos,<sup>115</sup> and in 1787 was 43,234.<sup>116</sup> The funds came from Bogotá until 1781, when responsibility switched to Caracas.<sup>117</sup>

The increased expenditures during the last half of the eighteenth century drained the royal treasury, erasing whatever advantage had been gained from the fiscal and administrative reforms of the 1770s. Normal army expenditures--salaries, pensions, medical care, and supplies--as well as construction costs depended on revenues received from taxes on commerce. In 1750 total military spending--excluding construction--for the provinces that would become modern Venezuela were approximately 227,000 pesos and by the end of the century nearly 376,000 pesos annually, which represented between two-thirds and three-quarters of all royal expenditures. Since Spain was at war for most of the 1790 to 1810 period, however, the treasury in the captaincy general increasingly found itself unable to pay for even the normal defense expenditures, much less repair to the

forts along the coast. Not only were shipping and commerce disrupted, but militiamen were called to duty, leaving their essential tasks undone. In 1804 Captain General Manuel Guevara reported there was not a single real to pay the troops.<sup>118</sup>

### Results and Evaluation

The inability of the treasury to provide adequately for the defense of Venezuela leads one to question whether or not military reorganization had altered significantly military capabilities since the middle of the eighteenth century or whether the effort was merely an irresponsible flurry of activity--as a component of the Bourbon Reforms--that created a paper army. I have demonstrated that the military reforms of Philip V were applied piecemeal to Venezuela in response to local imperatives. Regular forces were strengthened, militias put on "disciplined" footing, military expenditures increased, and, when commerce prospered, the officers and men were paid promptly. To evaluate the effect of these reforms, however, we must first determine the army's function, both militarily and as an instrumentality of bureaucratic reform.

The regular army and militias in Venezuela developed three military functions: to serve as a reserve force in case of an emergency elsewhere in the Caribbean basin, to

defend Venezuelan ports and frontiers, and to put down internal rebellions. Spain, a second rate power caught up in British-French hegemonic struggles, was at war for a third of the 1750 to 1810 period. Neither the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which Spain joined on the side of the French in 1762, nor the War of the American Revolution (1775-1783), during which Spain declared war on Great Britain in 1779, directly involved the army of Venezuela.<sup>119</sup>

The captaincy general provided reinforcements to Santo Domingo during the war between the coalition headed by Great Britain and revolutionary France from 1793 to 1795. In response to repeated pleas from authorities on Española who feared French attack, Captain General Pedro Carbonell in July 1793 ordered three companies of the Caracas Battalion to the island. This force, joined by two militia companies and forty artillerymen, departed Puerto Cabello at the end of the year.<sup>120</sup> A review of officers' service records showed the 540-man force sailed in the armada of Gabriel de Aristizábal and disembarked on Santo Domingo in October 1795. Parts of the combined force remained on the island until July 1799.<sup>121</sup>

These forces saw action in the attacks on Bayajá, Crozel, Yaquesí, San Miguel, and elsewhere, beginning in 1795. When the commander of the Venezuelan contingent, Colonel Juan de Casas, readied the majority of his force for its return to Caracas in December 1797 the number of

men under his command was approximately the same as had departed four years earlier.<sup>122</sup> This indicated light casualties, although exact numbers have not been located. One confirmed dead was Lieutenant Manuel Dalmaces who expired after accidentally shooting himself.<sup>123</sup> Of the nearly five hundred regular army officers who served from 1750 to 1810 in what became Venezuela he was the only one to die from other than natural causes while engaging an enemy.

During this same sixty year period, enemy forces attacked the Venezuelan coastline only during the 1796 to 1808 war against Great Britain. No doubt in part due to the strengthening of the army in the major ports, the British in 1801 four times chose the undefended city of Carúpano, near Cumaná, as the point of disembarkation. Due to its isolated location the first line of defense was the militia, commanded by Adjutant Julián Izquierdo, a regular army officer assigned to instruct the citizen-soldiers.<sup>124</sup> By all accounts he conducted himself well and won high praise from authorities in Caracas and Madrid, resulting in his promotion to captain.<sup>125</sup> He was the only regular army officer of the five hundred who served from 1750 to 1810 who was wounded in battle.

In addition both the regular army and the militias were called upon to put down internal rebellions. In all but one case the immediate threat was controlled by the

militia and the regular forces served in support. This was the case in both of the major instances of widespread dissatisfaction, that of the Comuneros de los Andes in 1781 and that of black slaves and freedmen led by José Leonardo Chirino and José Caridad González in Coro in 1795. Both were localized uprisings in which the army's function was to insure neither became more widespread.<sup>126</sup>

The exception to this pattern was the revolutionary conspiracy in 1797 led by Juan Bautista Picornell, José María España, and Manuel Gual, a retired regular army captain.<sup>127</sup> In many respects this movement had characteristics common to a modern coup d'etat. In alliance with a number of civilian authorities a cabal of military officers, supported by several hundred soldiers, was to rise against the government and declare a republic. The plot was exposed in July 1797, implicating, in addition to the three leaders, engineer lieutenants Patricio Román and Juan Lartigue de Conde, Captain Manuel Ayala of the Caracas Battalion, and scores of non-commissioned officers and soldiers.<sup>128</sup> Apprehension and arrest of the conspirators was the responsibility of the regular army and militia-men under the command of Captain Jaime Moreno, a regular army officer assigned to Maracaibo.<sup>129</sup>

In addition to its three military functions, the regular army provided other services to the government. In conjunction with ships of the Guipuzcoa Company, troops

fought an unsuccessful battle to contain the widespread contraband trade.<sup>130</sup> Soldiers in Maracaibo and Guayana protected settlements against real and imagined Indian threats.<sup>131</sup> During the 1750s and 1760s much of the force in Cumaná participated in the Boundary Commission formed to determine the frontier with Brazil.<sup>132</sup> At various times the army founded towns, constructed public and private buildings, built roads, enforced quarantines and tax payments, and provided important police functions such as the expulsion of the Jesuits.<sup>133</sup>

It was through these non-military functions that the regular army in colonial Venezuela had its greatest impact. During the last half of the eighteenth century the forces in the captaincy general served as the most important arm of an expanding bureaucracy. On the heels of military reform and centralization came the establishment of the intendency (1776), the captaincy general (1777), the audiencia (1786), and the bishopric (1804). From isolated autonomous units reporting directly to Madrid, the forces in Maracaibo, Cumaná, Guayana, and on Margarita Island were brought under the administrative control of authorities in Caracas.

By all accounts, therefore, the military consequences of the Bourbon Reforms as applied to Venezuela must be considered a qualified success. During the 1790s when Venezuelan forces were involved in wars, the captaincy



general's regular army units and militias reinforced Santo Domingo and protected the coastline. When the British attacked Venezuela at the turn of the century they did so far from the population centers, no doubt due, in part, to the presence of regular army companies in the ports and major cities. Furthermore, although periodic rebellions caused considerable consternation among royal officials and criollo elites, none of the uprisings were widespread. Nevertheless, it was difficult to determine whether the increase in the number of officers and soldiers during the last half of the century deterred Spain's enemies or intimidated potential rebels.

The case is less clouded when evaluating the expansion of the army as an instrumentality of expanded administrative reform. Soldier-administrators served as transitional bureaucrats in regions previously outside effective royal administration. Small squads of peninsular regular army soldiers, dispatched from their garrison in Caracas, represented the authority of the Spanish crown in the fringe areas of the empire. If the intendancy and captaincy general were the administrative base upon which modern Venezuela was built, then the reformed army, as their precursor, was an integral part of that foundation.

Notes to Chapter II

<sup>1</sup>Jorge I. Domínguez, Insurrection or Loyalty: The Breakdown of the Spanish American Empire (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 69-74.

<sup>2</sup>John Childs, Armies and Warfare in Europe, 1648-1789 (London: Manchester University Press, 1982), pp. 41-42.

<sup>3</sup>Twelve to fifteen companies made up a tercio, which was commanded by a maestre de campo.

<sup>4</sup>Henry Kamen, The War of the Succession in Spain (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), pp. 61-62; Joaquín de Sotto y Montes, "Organización militar española de la Casa Bourbon (Siglo XVIII)," Revista de Historia Militar 22 (1967):113-177; and Aureliano Álvarez-Coque and Juan de Castro, Historia militar, 2nd ed. (Toledo: Escuela Tipográfica y Encuadernación, 1929), p. 129.

<sup>5</sup>Juan Marchena Fernández, "El ejército de América: el component humano," Revista de Historia Militar 51 (1981): 119-121.

<sup>6</sup>Lyle N. McAlister, "The Reorganization of the Army of New Spain, 1763-1766," Hispanic American Historical Review 33 (February 1953):4; and Allan J. Kuethe, Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1978), p. 9; and Sotto y Montes, "Organización militar," p. 140.

<sup>7</sup>Jerónimo Martínez-Mendoza, Venezuela colonial: Investigaciones para el conocimiento de su historia (Caracas: Editorial Arte, 1965), pp. 231-240.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.; and Santiago Gerardo Suárez, comp., Las instituciones militares venezolanas del periodo hispánico en los archivos (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1969), p. xxv.

<sup>9</sup>Martínez-Mendoza, Venezuela colonial, pp. 149-150.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Martínez-Mendoza, Venezuela colonial, pp. 147-149.

<sup>12</sup>Suárez, Instituciones, p. lxx.

<sup>13</sup> Memorial of Diego Tabares, Cumaná, April 4, 1750, AGI CAR 876; and Review of Troops, Cumaná, May 22, 1754, AGI CAR 862.

<sup>14</sup> Review of Troops, Margarita, July 1, 1749, AGI CAR 876.

<sup>15</sup> Review of Troops, Maracaibo, January 1, 1749 to April 30, 1751, AGI CAR 876.

<sup>16</sup> Suárez, Instituciones, p.lxx; and Service Record of Antonio de Sucre y Pardo, Cumaná, December 1783, AGI CAR 850.

<sup>17</sup> "Tropa de los Regimientos de Infanteria de Zamora y Sevilla se embarco . . .," Cartagena, October 4, 1749, AGI CAR 863-A; and "Estado que comprehende las plazas," Caracas, January 12, 1750, AGI CAR 863-A.

<sup>18</sup> "Noticia de los diez Piquetes quedo los Regimientos de Infanteria de la Guarnicion de Cadiz . . . a la orden del Mariscal de Campo Don Felipe Ricardos," Cádiz, April 4, 1751, AGI CAR 864. All secondary sources put Arriaga's forces at 1,100 and Ricardos' at 200, but a careful examination of the ship's registers indicated a fairly even split of 600 men each.

<sup>19</sup> "Estado de la Gente efectiva . . . que existen en esta Provincia," Caracas, March 31, 1752, AGI CAR 864.

<sup>20</sup> Suárez, Instituciones, p. lxx.

<sup>21</sup> Eduardo Arcila Frías, Economía colonial de Venezuela (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946), p. 242.

<sup>22</sup> Suárez, Instituciones, p. lxxii.

<sup>23</sup> "Relación de la gente . . . van en el navio San Fernando," Caracas, October 15, 1752, AGI CAR 864; Felipe Ricardos to the Marques de Enseñada, Caracas, August 16, 1753, AGI CAR 77; and Ricardos to Enseñada, Caracas, November 1, 1753, AGI CAR 77.

<sup>24</sup> Enseñada to Ricardos, Madrid, February 15, 1753, in Santiago Gerardo Suárez, Las fuerzas armadas Venezolanas en la colonia (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1979), pp. 95-97; Enseñada to Ricardos, Madrid, February 26, 1754, *ibid.*, pp. 98-100; and "Reglamento para el Batallion fixo, de Caracas, Piquenta de Cavalleria, y Demas Tropas de la Dotación que debe quarneze la Provincia de Venezuela, en los Castillos, Fuertes y demas Destinos de su Jurisdicción," Caracas, July 1, 1753, AGI CAR 883.

- 25 Suáñez, Instituciones, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv.
- 26 Memorial of Atanacio Varcada, La Guaira, February 27, 1767, AGI CAR 866; José Solano to Julián de Arriaga, Caracas, February 14, 1767, AGI CAR 866; Francisco Arce to Juan Gregorio Munian, La Guaira, April 10, 1767, AGI CAR 847; and Memorial of Juan Burguillos, Caracas, December 28, 1787, AGI CAR 111.
- 27 Alejandro O'Reilly to Arriaga, Madrid, March 26, 1768, AGI CAR 866; and Solano to Arriaga, Caracas, April 24, 1769, AGI CAR 866.
- 28 "Relación de las clases, y numero de plazas de que se compone un Regimiento de Infanteria, y Reglamento del haber mensual que deberan gozar los oficiales, y demas individuos de Aquello Cuerpo, que estaviesen empleados en la Governación de Caracas," Madrid, July 6, 1768, AGI CAR 847.
- 29 Manuel de Guevara Vasconcelos to Generalissimo Principe de la Paz, Caracas, October 15, 1804, AGI CAR 104; Guevara to Principe, Caracas, October 1, 1805, AGI CAR 848; and Suáñez, Instituciones, pp. lxxviii-lxxix.
- 30 Review of Troops, Caracas, June 30, 1803, AGI CAR 857; and Suáñez, Instituciones, p. lxxix.
- 31 Guevara to Principe de la Paz, Caracas, October 1, 1805, AGI CAR 848.
- 32 Suáñez, Instituciones, pp. xxxv-xxxvii; Suáñez, Fuerzas, p. 129; and Santos Rodulfo Cortés, "Las milicias de Pardos de Venezuela durante el periodo hispánico," Memoria del Tercer Congreso Venezolano de Historia (1977), 3 vols. (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1979): III:9-87.
- 33 Robert James Ferry, "Cacao and Kindred: Transformations of Economy and Society in Colonial Caracas," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1980, p. 83.
- 34 Jose Antonio Caballero to Miguel Cayetano Soler, San Ildefonso, August 17, 1806, AGI CAR 848.
- 35 Cortés, "Milicias de Pardos," III:52-53.
- 36 Solano to Arriaga, Caracas, November 12, 1764, AGI CAR 866.

<sup>37</sup>"Relación de los Individuos que en consecuencia de la resolución de S.M. de 26 de junio, y 1 de julio del presente año . . . a fin de reglar, y formalizar los cuerpos de milicias de Blancos, Pardos, y compañías sueltas en esta Provincia de Venezuela," Caracas, October 12, 1771, AGI CAR 81.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>"Patentes de Comandantes de las Armas," La Guaira and Puerto Cabello, 1772-1802, AGI CAR 843; and José Carlos de Agüero to Arriaga, Caracas, June 30, 1774, AGI CAR 82.

<sup>40</sup>"Estado general que manifiesta la fuerza de oficiales y tropa . . .," Caracas, July 14, 1772, AGI CAR 81.

<sup>41</sup>"Reflexiones sobre las milicias," Caracas, December 31, 1784, in Manuel Gonzalez to José de Gálvez, Caracas, August 20, 1785, AGI CAR 87.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Caballero to Cayetano Soler, Aranjuez, January 24, 1804, AGI CAR 846; Jose de Limonta, Libro de la Razón General de la Real Hacienda del Departamento de Caracas (1806) (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1962), pp. 286-287; and Suárez, Instituciones, pp. 148-149.

<sup>44</sup>Memorial of Domingo de Irisarri, Simón de Aguirre, Juan José de Michelena, Miguel Ignacio de Berrondo, Ramon de Zubimendi, Santiago de Michelena, José Ignacio de Sorondo, José Ignacio de Oronoz, Manuel de Puerto, Ignacio de Aguirre, Manuel de Arbide, Manuel Aguirre, Bernardo de Echagaray, Juan José Untain, Antonio Iribarren, Ignacio Sagarzazri, Sebastian Manuel de Betgui, and José Antonio de Aguirre, Maracay, September 28, 1784, AGI CAR 478.

<sup>45</sup>Manuel de Guevara to Minister of War, Caracas, July 13, 1801, AGI CAR 99.

<sup>46</sup>Juan Manuel de Cajigal to Minister of War, Caracas, January 22, 1801, AGI CAR 99.

<sup>47</sup>Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, February 24, 1756, AGI CAR 864; and Francisco Javier Moreno de Mendoza to Arriaga, Maracaibo, October 4, 1759, AGI CAR 862.

<sup>48</sup>"Reglamento . . . para el regimen y gobierno de las tres Compañias de Infantería de la dotación de Maracaibo," Madrid, October 6, 1758, AGI CAR 862.

- <sup>49</sup>Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, July 3, 1756, AGI CAR 864.
- <sup>50</sup>Suárez, Instituciones, pp. lxxv and 76.
- <sup>51</sup>Luis de Unzaga y Amézaga to Gálvez, Caracas, February 28, 1782, AGI CAR 85; González to Gálvez, Caracas, July 21, 1783, AGI CAR 86; and Fernando Miyares to Antonio Cornel, Maracaibo, November 3, 1800, AGI CAR 99.
- <sup>52</sup>Miyares to Caballero, Maracaibo, February 22, 1802, AGI CAR 101.
- <sup>53</sup>Review of Troops, Maracaibo, 1793 and 1794, AGI CAR 852 and 856.
- <sup>54</sup>Juan Guillelmi to Gálvez, Caracas, May 31, 1787, AGI CAR 90; and Minister of War to Secretary of the Despacho de Hacienda, El Palacio, July 4, 1805, AGI CAR 846.
- <sup>55</sup>Guillelmi to Gálvez, Caracas, July 24, 1786, AGI CAR 882; and Miyares to Gálvez, Barinas, September 24, 1786, AGI CAR 846.
- <sup>56</sup>Caballero to Cayetano Soler, San Lorenzo, December 2, 1801, AGI CAR 846.
- <sup>57</sup>Caballero to Cayetano Soler, San Ildefonso, August 20, 1804, AGI CAR 846.
- <sup>58</sup>Estado que manifesto la tropa que queda guarnicion en esta provincia de Guayana en esta fecha con expresion de los destinos en que se halla," Guayana, March 1, 1809, in U.S. Congress, Senate, Report of the Special Commission Appointed by the President January 4, 1896, to Examine and Report Upon the True Divisional Line Between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana, Doc. 91, 55th Congress, 2nd Session, 2 parts (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1898): II:671.
- <sup>59</sup>"Nuevo Reglamento, Establecimiento para la Paga y servicio de las tropas, que Guarnece, la Real Fuerza de Araya, los Castillos de San Antonio de la Eminencia, Santa Maria de la Cabeza, Reducto de la Candelaria de esta ciudad, la Bateria, y el Fuerto de Santa Cathaline de la voca del Rio, Marina, y Puerto Principal de ella," Cumaná, December 1, 1751, AGI CAR 862; and Review of Troops, Cumaná, May 22, 1754, AGI CAR 862.
- <sup>60</sup>José Diguja Villagomez to Arriaga, Cumaná, November 1, 1762, AGI CAR 878.

<sup>61</sup>"Reglamento para el Estado Mayor de la Plaza y Tropa veterana de la Gobernación de Cumaná," Madrid, July 8, 1779, AGI CAR 847.

<sup>62</sup>Memorial of Mateo Gual, Cumaná, December 18, 1757, in Suárez, Fuerzas, pp. 101-128.

<sup>63</sup>Review of Troops, Cumaná, 1800 and 1802, AGI CAR 857.

<sup>64</sup>Memorial of Francisco Figuera, Fernando Arismendi, Diego Gordon, Matias Vellorin, Juan Antonio Martinez Ramirez, and Joaquín de la Torre, Cumaná, October 30, 1804, AGI CAR 414.

<sup>65</sup>"Papeles que comprehenden la Real Facultad de formar cuatro Companias para el Orinoco, "Ciudad Real de Orinoco, March 8, 1765, AGI CAR 878; and Francisco Alejandro Vargas. "Las gobernaciones de Venezuela y el problema de su defensa exterior durante los siglos XVII y XVIII," Memoria del Primer Congreso Venezolano de Historia (Caracas: Academia Nacional de Historia, 1972), II:350-351.

<sup>66</sup>Alejandro O'Reilly to \_\_\_\_\_, Madrid, November 17, 1774, AGI CAR 869; and Manuel González to Gálvez, Caracas, October 25, 1783, AGI CAR 86.

<sup>67</sup>Nombramiento of José Miller, El Pardo, March 2, 1775, AGI CAR 869.

<sup>68</sup>Montepío Account Records, Guayana, December 31, 1801, AGI CAR 139.

<sup>69</sup>Review of Troops, Margarita, July 1, 1749, AGI CAR 876; and Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza to the Marques de Enseñada, Asunción, September 6, 1751, AGI CAR 142.

<sup>70</sup>González to Gálvez, Caracas, July 21, 1783, AGI CAR 86.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.; Review of Troops, Margarita, December 31, 1786, AGI CAR 90; and Review of Troops, Margarita, January to December 1799, AGI CAR 856.

<sup>72</sup>Felipe Remírez to Arriaga, Caracas, July 10, 1760, AGI CAR 862.

<sup>73</sup>Jacinto de San Juan to Arriaga, Puerto de España, July 1, 1760, AGI CAR 862; and Review of Troops, Puerto de España, April 23, 1762, AGI CAR 878.

74 "Reglamento para el estado y Tropa Veterana de la Isla de Trinidad de Barlovento," San Lorenzo, November 6, 1786, AGI CAR 847.

75 Jesse A. Noel, Trinidad, Provincia de Venezuela (Caracas: Academia Nacional de Historia, 1972), pp. 338-339.

76 Review of Troops, Puerto de España, February 10, 1797, AGI CAR 859.

77 There were in addition from five to ten engineers in Venezuela, but they were directly under the supervision of authorities in Madrid and had no combat role. See "Lista de los Individuos que componen el Real Cuerpo de Ingenieros," Madrid, 1791, AGS GM 5837.

78 Luis J. Ramos, "Los seis primeros años de la bandera de recluta establecida en Sevilla por el Batallón Veterano de Caracas (1785-1791)," Memorial del Tercer Congreso Venezolano de Historia (1977), 3 vols. (Caracas: Academia Nacional de Historia, 1979), 11:555-612; and Suárez, Instituciones, p. lxxviii.

79 Review of Troops, Maracaibo, August 20, 1776, AGI CAR 880; ibid., July 24, 1778, AGI CAR 880; ibid., June 10, 1780, AGI CAR 880; ibid., December 31, 1782, AGI CAR 882; and ibid., December 31, 1786, AGI CAR 90.

80 Review of Troops, Margarita, December 31, 1786, AGI CAR 90.

81 Review of Troops, Cumaná, December 31, 1777, AGI CAR 850.

82 Review of Troops, Cumaná, December 31, 1802, AGI CAR 857.

83 Review of Troops, Guayana, November 30, 1771, AGI CAR 138; ibid., December 31, 1772, AGI CAR 869; and ibid., December 31, 1786, AGI CAR 90.

84 Agüero to Arriaga, Caracas, April 12, 1775, AGI CAR 83; and Miguel Marmion to Guillemí, Guayana, September 28, 1787, AGI CAR 111; and Guevara to Minister of War, Caracas, July 13, 1810, AGI CAR 99.

85 Review of Troops, Caracas, September 30, 1765, and July 31, 1767, AGI CAR 866.

86 Limonta, Libro de la Razón General, p. 31.



<sup>87</sup>Suárez, Instituciones, p. lxix.

<sup>88</sup>"Estado que manifiesta la Renta de las Cajas de la Provincia de Venezuela en un año regular, sin incluir algunos Ramos accidentales, y sus Pensiones del mismo modo," Caracas, July 8, 1772, AGI CAR 81; "Estado general de los Caudales que por todos Ramos pertenecieron a S.M. en el año próximo pasado de 1775 y de sus Pensiones," Caracas, August 31, 1777, AGI CAR 84; and "Extracto del 'Libro Comun y General de la Tesoreria de Ejército y Real Hacienda de Caracas de los años 1777 y 1778,'" in Mario Briceno-Iragorri, comp., Orígenes de la Hacienda en Venezuela (Documentos Ineditos de la Época Colonial) (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1942), pp. 187-208.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid.

<sup>90</sup>"Estado general de los Caudales (1775)," Caracas, August 31, 1777, AGI CAR 84.

<sup>91</sup>Guillelmi to Antonio Valdés, Caracas, February 26, 1788, and July 31, 1788, AGI CAR 112.

<sup>92</sup>José de Abalos to Gálvez, Caracas, September 25, 1781, in Suárez, Instituciones, p. 425.

<sup>93</sup>Juan Manuel Zapatero, Historia de las Fortificaciones de Puerto Cabello (Caracas: Banco Central de Venezuela, 1977), p. 156.

<sup>94</sup>Guillelmi to Conde del Campo de Alange, Caracas, January 23, 1791, in Suárez, Instituciones, p. 425.

<sup>95</sup>"Estado de las plazas que hay para la Guarnición de los Castillos San Carlos Borromeo del Puerto Principal de Pampatar y Santa Rosa de la Eminencia de esta ciudad," Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza, La Asunción, September 6, 1751, AGI CAR 142.

<sup>96</sup>Alonso del Río y Castro to Arriaga, Margarita, September 20, 1759, and March 26, 1760, AGI CAR 862.

<sup>97</sup>"Relacion que manifiesta los sueldos . . .," por José de Matos and Diego Espeso Núñez, Asunción, July 28, 1777, AGI CAR 869.

<sup>98</sup>Limonta, Libro de la Razón, pp. 283-284.

<sup>99</sup>"Estado de la gente efectiva . . . con expresion de las cantidades que persivieren por razon de sus sueldos," Maracaibo, n.d. (1748), AGI CAR 146.

<sup>100</sup>"Razon individual de los gastos . . . de 1748 hasta 1754," Maracaibo, n.d. (1754), AGI CAR 145.

- <sup>101</sup>Reglamento, Madrid, October 6, 1758, AGI CAR 862.
- <sup>102</sup>"Informe sobre el estado de la Provincia de Maracaibo (1784)," Caracas, January 24, 1785, in Boletín del Archivo Nacional 29 (January 1943): 253-254. Between 1780 and 1784, 21,047 pesos and 1½ reales were spent on fortifications in Maracaibo. See Raúl Tomás López Rivero, Fortificaciones de Maracaibo; Siglos XVII y XVIII (Maracaibo: Universidad de Zulia, 1968), p. 113.
- <sup>103</sup>Limonta, Libro de la Razón, pp. 280-281.
- <sup>104</sup>In 1639, 30,000 ducados were sent from Peru to pay the 300 men in Cumaná. See Real Cédula, Madrid, September 23, 1639, in Suárez, Instituciones, p. 86.
- <sup>105</sup>Memorial of Diego Tabares, Cumaná, April 4, 1750, AGI CAR 876; Nuevo Reglamento, Cumaná, December 1, 1751, AGI CAR 862; and Tabares to Marques de Enseñada, Cumaná, May 2, 1752, AGI CAR 862.
- <sup>106</sup>Mateo Gual to Arriaga, Cumaná, February 25, 1755, AGI CAR 862; and Gual to Arriaga, Cumaná, August 12, 1756, AGI CAR 862.
- <sup>107</sup>Records of the Real Caja, Cumaná, September 30, 1774, to August 31, 1775, AGI CAR 128.
- <sup>108</sup>Reviews of Troops, Cumaná, January to December 1802, AGI CAR 857.
- <sup>109</sup>Suárez, Instituciones, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.
- <sup>110</sup>"Notas para la mas pronta comprehensión de el Mapa General de la Gobernación de Cumaná que dirige a S.M. su Gobernador el Colonel Don Joseph Digujía Villagomez," Año de 1761, AGI CAR 201.
- <sup>111</sup>Francisco Alejandro Vargas, "Las governaciones de Venezuela y el problema de su defensa exterior durante los siglos XVII y XVIII," Memoria del Primer Congreso Venezolano de Historia, 3 vols. (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1972), II:350-351.
- <sup>112</sup>"Papeles comprehenden la Real Facultad de formar cuatro companias para el Orinoco," Ciudad Real de Orinoco, March 8, 1765, AGI CAR 878; and Suárez, Instituciones, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

113 Auto of Joachin Moreno, Nueva Ciudad de Guayana Angostura, December 4, 1766, AGI CAR 866; and Inventario of Manuel Centurion, Angostura, December 28, 1766, AGI CAR 866.

114 "Mapa General," Cumana, 1761, AGI CAR 201.

115 Relación of Francisco de Amarategui, Santo Tome, August 17, 1771, AGI CAR 137.

116 "Relacion del Ingreso . . . y las pensiones," Guayana, August 7, 1788, AGI CAR 136.

117 Abalos to Secretary of State, Caracas, September 23, 1781, in Suárez, Instituciones, p. 453.

118 Manuel Guevara to Minister of War, Caracas, October 15, 1804, AGI CAR 104.

119 Remíez to Arriaga, Caracas, April 13, 1763, AGI CAR 865; and Unzaga to Gálvez, Caracas, August 14, 1779, AGI CAR 85.

120 Pedro Carbonell to Alange, Caracas, July 31, 1793, AGI CAR 94; and Service Record of Juan de Casas, Caracas, December 1805, AGI CAR 98.

121 Ibid., and Memorial of Ayudante Miguel Negrete, Valencia, July 1, 1800, AGI CAR 98.

122 Review of Troops, Caracas, January to December 1794, AGI CAR 854; Joaquín García to Principe de la Paz, Santo Domingo, October 21, 1795, in Emilio García Demorzi, comp., Cesión de Santo Domingo a Francia (Diudad Trujillo: Impresa Dominicana, 1958), pp. 12-14; and Eleazar Córdova-Bello, La independencia de Haiti y su influencia en Hispano-america (Caracas: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1967), p. 65.

123 Memorial of María Merced Ponte, Caracas, May 1, 1800, AGI CAR 96.

124 Caballero to Cayetano Soler, Caracas, July 17, 1802, AGI CAR 846; and B. Tavera-Acosta, Historia de Carúpano, 2 vols. (Caracas: Casa de Especialiades, 1930), I:83-89.

125 Service Record of Julián de Izquierdo, Caracas, December 1808, in Hojas militares, 3 vols. (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1940-1950), II:114-116.

126 González to Gálvez, Caracas, March 19, 1785, AGI CAR 873; ibid., June 20, 1785, AGI CAR 88, and J.L. Salcedo-Bastardo, Historia fundamental de Venezuela, 7th ed. (Caracas: Fundación Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho, 1977), pp. 191-197.

127 See Casto Gulencio López, Juan Bautista Picornell y la conspiración de Gual y España (Caracas: Ediciones Nueva Cádiz, 1955).

128 Ibid., and Pedro Carbonel et al., to Juan Manuel de Alvarez, Caracas, August 23, 1797, AGI Estado 58.

129 Memorial of Jaime Moreno, La Victoria, January 27, 1802, AGI CAR 75.

130 Ricardos to Marqués de la Enseñada, Caracas, March 1, 1752, AGI CAR 75.

131 Memorial of Antonio Barreto, Caracas, December 9, 1784, AGI CAR 37; and Service Record of José Antonio Luzardo, Maracaibo, December 1786, AGI CAR 851.

132 Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, March 18, 1755, AGI CAR 78; and Review of Troops, Cumaná, February 28, 1758, AGI CAR 862.

133 Memorial of Antonio Barreto, Caracas, December 9, 1784, AGI CAR 87.

### CHAPTER III OFFICER CAREER PATTERNS

The prosopographical analysis of the career patterns of the regular army officers who served on permanent duty in the geographical area included in modern Venezuela from 1750 to 1810 involved four steps. The first was to determine who was to be included in the population. For this study a regular army officer is a career soldier above the rank of sergeant who received a monthly salary whether the militias were mobilized or not and whose primary function was military as opposed to bureaucratic. While many served as cadres in the white and pardo militias, most were assigned to regular army companies. After determining the population, primary sources such as financial records, personnel files, and correspondence were searched for career and biographical data. Secondary materials were utilized to supplement this information. Finally, the results were analyzed in order to determine common characteristics. The result was a "collective biography" of the 485 regular army officers--a population, not a sample--who served in Venezuela during the last sixty years of Spanish rule in the colony.

### The Officer Population

The defense of Venezuela during the late colonial period was the responsibility of three components of the Spanish army: the regular (veterano) units of infantry and artillery stationed in the ports and Caracas; the militias scattered throughout the captaincy general; and rotating peninsular battalions. In practice the first line of defense was the militia which was the only sector to engage in combat in Venezuela from the middle of the eighteenth century on, although some units of the regular army served in Santo Domingo during the 1790s. The regular army--whether in Maracaibo, Puerto Cabello, La Guaira, Cumaná, or on Margarita Island--served as supervisors of the citizen soldiers and as their reinforcement. If the threat was perceived in Madrid to be too great for local forces, reinforcements were dispatched from the peninsula. Officers resident in Venezuela, therefore, served either in a regular unit or in the command structure of the militias.

Anyone sworn to defend the realm, whether regular army or militia, had an assigned rank from field marshal (mariscal de campo) to common soldier (soldado). According to his standing he was either part of the officer corps or the enlisted ranks. Each of these was further divided into two sectors: enlisted men were either non-commissioned officers (sergeants and corporals) or soldiers, while officers either had general or field rank (field marshal,

brigadier, colonel, and lieutenant colonel), commanded a company (captain), or belonged to the officer proletariat (lieutenant, adjudant, and second lieutenant). Comparable ranks in the Corps of Engineers were Director (Brigadier), Jefe (Colonel), Segundo (Lieutenant Colonel), Ordinario (Captain), Extraordinario (Lieutenant), and Ayudante or Delineador (Second Lieutenant).<sup>1</sup>

Officers were assigned functions that may or may not have corresponded to their rank. If they were members of the officer proletariat or company commanders, then more likely than not they served as second lieutenants, lieutenants, or captains in a regular army infantry or artillery company. Some, however, were posted to staff (Plana Mayor and Estado Mayor), positions, which were functions, not ranks (the Plana Mayor was the staff of officers and enlisted men of a battalion who were not assigned to a company, such as the colonel, major, adjudant, standard bearers, surgeon, chaplain, and drummers. The Estado Mayor, on the other hand, was the staff of officers responsible for reporting to higher levels of command. In Venezuela the same officers served in both groups.). Under normal circumstances the captain with the most time in grade served as the battalion major, while the lieutenant with the longest service occupied the adjudant slot. They would therefore be next in line for promotion to lieutenant colonel and captain respectively, and their salaries were approximately midway between their current and anticipated rank.

Prior to the establishment of the captaincy general in 1777, the provincial governors were in charge of the day to day operations of the companies assigned to their areas. They were assisted by castellanos, the senior captains in the largest fort in the provincial ports. During the late 1770s and 1780s army authorities in Spain appointed commanders (comandantes) to command the regular units and the newly organized disciplined militias in each of the provincial capitals as well as in Puerto Cabello and La Guaira.<sup>2</sup> In the mid-1790s commanders were also posted to Coro and Barinas.<sup>3</sup> The exception was the colonel of the Caracas Battalion who in addition to his military responsibilities served as the king's lieutenant (teniente del rey). In this capacity he assumed the captain general's civil and military functions in the latter's absence.<sup>4</sup> So, while the governors and later captain generals were all military officers, the highest strictly military posts were the colonel of the Caracas Battalion and the commanders in the provinces and the ports of La Guaira and Puerto Cabello.

After those serving in command positions in regular army companies, the largest group of officers assigned to permanent slots in Venezuela consisted of those supervising and instructing the disciplined militia units. In Venezuela there were two groups of militias, whites and pardos, divided according to social category and assimilation



rather than along strictly racial lines. Each had a white regular army cadre of officers and non-commissioned officers assigned to instruct them at weekly--or more often monthly--musters. These officers were almost exclusively peninsulares.

Officer titles varied slightly in white and pardo militias. In the white units they were: (1) the militia major, a regular army lieutenant colonel or captain; (2) the militia first adjutant, a regular army lieutenant; and (3) the militia lieutenants (tenientes veteranos), whose regular army rank ranged from lieutenant to captain. Regular army officers assigned to the pardo units were: (1) the sub-inspector, a regular army lieutenant; and (2) the adjutants, regular army second lieutenants. These officers received monthly pay whether the militia were activated or not and were subject to the same supervision by local and metropolitan command groups and entitled to the same prerogatives as those in the regular army. From 1797 the sub-inspectors in the pardo units were called commanders and regular army lieutenants in the white militias adjutants.<sup>5</sup> In military records these men are referred to by either title.

Most of the militia officers were not, therefore, members of the regular army. The colonels, captains, and second lieutenants were also civilians who received no salary unless mobilized. In 1797 the regular army

lieutenants assigned to each white company were eliminated as too costly, and replaced by a lesser number of officers, from then on called adjudants. Consequently, an officer with the rank of lieutenant in a white militia unit prior to 1797 was a regular army officer, and from then on was not. In the pardo militias on the other hand, there were no regular army lieutenants assigned to the individual companies as in the white units, only a sub-inspector--commander beginning in 1797--for the entire unit and two to four adjudants per battalion. What distinguished regular army officers from militia officers, in both the white and pardo units, was that they were career soldiers who received a salary whether the companies were mobilized or not.

The definition of an army officer as one who received monthly pay, who was historically known as an officer, and whose primary vocational function was defense of the realm, leaves some men out of the officer population who are often included by historians. Army commissions (nonbramientos, patentes, and títulos) assigning officer to new posts, included a provision that they were not to be assessed a media anata (a payment of one-half the annual income from a revenue producing post) because their functions were purely military. However, governors and captain generals, who had civil functions and therefore paid the media anata, were not included in the Venezuelan army documents as part

of the officer population, although all were officers before assignment and continued to use their military ranks.

Soldiers below the rank of second lieutenant were not considered soldiers. Neither first nor second sergeants were officers. They were known as sub-oficiales and were not entitled to be addressed as "Don," as were officers. Nor were cadets who were on training status and earned the salary of a common soldier.<sup>6</sup> The other groups excluded from the documents of the Spanish army in colonial Venezuela were those temporarily assigned to the area on boundary commissions, in transit to other posts, or in the Regiments of Lombardi or La Reina who were temporarily sent to strengthen defenses and then departed as a unit. Officers who remained in Venezuela and entered permanent units were of course part of the officer population.

#### Sources

The supervision of the lives and careers of army officers generated records detailing their careers in Venezuela. From the date of their enlistment until their death they were under the command of local and metropolitan authorities which necessitated voluminous correspondence and documentation. Those utilized to determine the names of all officers serving on permanent duty from 1750 to

1810 fall into three broad categories: documents relating to salary, individual service records, and general correspondence.

The extracts of the monthly reviews (Extractors de revistas) of the regular army were the documents utilized by royal officials to determine how much salary was due each soldier. As summaries of official pay records they were compiled under the supervision of the local treasury officials responsible for disbursement and the adjudant in the provinces or the major in Caracas. Prior to the creation of the captaincy general they were forwarded to Bogotá or--more often--Spain, and after 1777 to the metropolis via Caracas.<sup>7</sup> A completed review provided treasury officials and the army command with several categories of information. Most important to this study were the names of the officers assigned and their location if on special assignment or leave. The names of the surgeon, chaplain, cadets, and first sergeants were also usually incorporated. The total number of enlisted men and their overall fitness was noted. Periodically, the birthplaces of the soldiers--by province--was included. Finally, a separate section detailed all alterations from the previous month including transfers, promotions, desertions, and deaths.

Another kind of pay record that could be utilized to trace an officer's career was that of the discounts withheld and credited to the Widow and Orphans Pension

Plan (Montepío militar).<sup>8</sup> Since every officer had a percentage of his pay retained, whether married or not, his name, gross salary, and the amount deducted were detailed. In addition, if a pension were paid to his survivors, their names were included, often with the name and date of death of their husband or father. As in the monthly reviews all promotions, transfers, retirements, and deaths were recorded as they affected the officer's salary.<sup>9</sup>

The official date of promotion was of special importance to the officer and treasury officials because the officer could not receive the pay increase until the document granting the promotion (nombramiento, patente, título) arrived in Venezuela. Included in these documents were the name and rank of the officer, the date of the posting, his previous assignment, the name of the man he was replacing, and the reason for the latter's departure.<sup>10</sup>

Confirmation of the information gathered from the documents relating to officer pay, as well as biographical and career data, were obtained from the individual service records (hojas de servicio). A complete example included the officer's promotion record, each previous post, combat experience, and an evaluation by the local commander. Biographical data included name, age, place of birth, marital status, general health, and social status (calidad). If the latter, however, noted on the service records were

to be believed, most of the officers changed status often during their careers, sometimes within a few months. Others improved or declined dramatically when transferred.

Due to the apparent significance of these entries, some representative examples were illustrative of their unreliability. Captain José Bosi, who entered the army as a common soldier, was listed as a "low status white" (llana) in 1767 while serving in the Caracas Battalion, and as a noble four years later by the adjudant in Guayana.<sup>11</sup> Captain Pedro Roo, a native of the Canary Islands, plunged from a listing of noble in 1767, to "good" (buena) in 17714, and to "known" (conocida) in 1786.<sup>12</sup> The Marqués de Mijares and José Antonio Bolivar, by any standard two of the wealthiest and most socially significant members of caraqueña society, were listed on their militia service records as "notable" (notaria) while in the same year in Cumaná all officers and cadets were given the status noble.<sup>13</sup> Curiously, all the service records from 1760 to 1800 in the latter province listed the officers and cadets as nobles. If any comparisons could be made it was only between officers stationed in the same place at the same time. To compare social derivation of those in Cumaná with those in Caracas, or officers in Maracaibo with their brothers in Guayana was unproductive. But to go one step further and analyze the calidad listed in the service records for all viceroyalties and captaincy generals in

America as if they were completed using common criteria, as one historian has done, is absurd.<sup>14</sup>

Gaps in the documentation relating to pay and service records were filled by general correspondence and miscellaneous documents transmitted between officials in Venezuela and those in Spain. If an officer died in route from Spain to Venezuela or was delayed by war and therefore never appeared on other documents he could be accounted for on passenger lists or in correspondence generated from his last post in order to complete his finance records.<sup>15</sup> As they were under the direct supervision of authorities of their respective corps in Spain, documents concerning engineers and artillery officers were often separate from those of the bulk of the soldiers who were in the infantry.<sup>16</sup> An audit of the Widow and Orphan Pension Plan by outside authorities from Spain included a list of every officer who died while receiving a salary in Caracas Province from 1761 to 1793.<sup>17</sup>

#### General Characteristics

A total of 485 army officers were found to have served in the territory that became modern Venezuela from 1750 to 1810, and are listed in Appendix I by the province of assignment, with the years they were carried on the monthly reviews. By far the greatest number served in Caracas (315), followed by Cumaná (73), Guayana (53),

Maracaibo (47), and on Margarita Island (21). A total of 24 officers transferred within Venezuela and were listed in both provincial rosters with appropriate years, but were only counted once for statistical purposes; for a total of 485 (509 minus 24 equals 485).

The survey of these primary sources produced a variety of prosopographical data relating to the officers. Of the 485 officers, peninsulares and other Europeans outnumbered criollos two to one, although there was a larger percentage of American-born officers in 1800 than in 1750. Nevertheless, at no time were there more criollos than peninsulares and other Europeans in the regular army officer corps. Birthplaces in Europe and America are recorded in Appendices II and III. There were, however, considerable variations from province to province. In Caracas there were more than three times as many Europeans as Americans, and on Margarita Island twice as many. In Cumaná and Guayana, on the other hand, criollos and Europeans were roughly even, while in Maracaibo twice as many criollos served. Generally, from 1750 to 1810 there were always more European officers in Caracas, while in the peripheral provinces there were roughly equal numbers of each. In Venezuela the regular army officer corps did not become progressively "Americanized" during the eighteenth century.



The documents also revealed characteristics relating to the officers' military careers. Those who died, retired, or transferred prior to 1810 spent an average of twenty years in Venezuela in army service, while the average length of an army career was thirty-two years. Over eighty percent ended their service in the officer proletariat (second lieutenants, 23.6 percent; lieutenants, 27.5 percent; and captains, 31.0 percent), while those above the rank of captain accounted for the remainder (majors, 5.2 percent; lieutenant colonels, 6.6 percent; colonels, 4.8 percent; brigadiers, 0.9 percent; and mariscal de campos, 0.4 percent). This data is recorded in Appendix V.

Of the 166 officers who died from 1750 to 1810, both while on active duty and on retired status, there was life span data on 159--112 Europeans and 47 criollos. The average age at death was 53.3 years, while Europeans outlived Americans by an average of four years, 54.5 to 50.4 years. Life span was longest in Maracaibo (56.0 years) and shortest in Guayana (47.3 years).<sup>18</sup>

#### Recruitment

There were four routes by which a man could receive a commission in the army: by serving as a cadet, by promotion from sergeant, directly from civilian life, or through exemplary militia service. For those occupying officer

posts during the last half of the eighteenth century in Venezuela more than half were commissioned after holding the rank of cadet, approximately one-third were previously non-commissioned officers, and the remainder split between direct commissions and those of former militia officers. The average age at commission was 28.8 years, with that of former cadets being 24.9 years and former non-commissioned officers 35.8.<sup>19</sup>

All of the officers serving in the regular army were considered white (blanco), with the exception of two pardos who were serving prior to the arrival of Arriaga and Ricardos at mid-century. Being classified a white criollo on a military record did not signify racial purity. According to Captain General Manuel de Guevara's report in 1801, lower class whites at some time had their blood mixed with that of a lower casta.<sup>20</sup> The two exceptions were Captain Agustín Francisco de Ochoa and Second Lieutenant Francisco José Rondon who served in a regular army company of pardos in La Guaira. They were paid half the salary of white officers. In 1780 the army command in Madrid ordered the elimination of the company and the two officers were assigned to militia units without pay or benefits.<sup>21</sup>

As the total number of European officers was twice that of criollos, most who served in Venezuela transferred from units stationed in Spain. Actual posting was either as individuals or collectively from units sent to reinforce

the area. Most Europeans who served in the captaincy general initially arrived with Arriaga and Ricardos in 1749 and 1751 to put down the León Rebellion, with the Santa Fé Battalion in 1767, which was blown off course to La Guaira after setting out from La Coruña for Buenos Aires, and officers of the Lombardi Regiment which landed in Venezuela from Cádiz in 1770. The forces arriving at mid-century and in 1767 staffed the Caracas Battalion, while most of the officers posted for militia instruction came with the Lombardi Regiment. Assignments to the staffs and companies in Maracaibo, Cumaná, Guayana, and Margarita Island were made individually, at times from officers in Spain, but usually from those serving in Caracas.<sup>22</sup>

Officers who transferred to Venezuela were subject to a variety of regulations concerning their movements. The few who married in Spain, mostly engineers, were required to bring their wives with them.<sup>23</sup> Nearly all who came were single and utilized Company or navy ships, but for those with a family the move could be expensive. In 1772 Lieutenant Diego Ufano borrowed 800 pesos to transport and settle his family in La Guaira. This represented sixteen months salary at his new post.<sup>24</sup> After initially allowing anyone who wanted to return to Spain to do so, in 1757 the crown ordered that only in extreme emergencies could officers return before fifteen years service in the Indies.<sup>25</sup> At the end of this period the officer could have

his way paid back to Spain by the crown.<sup>26</sup> Very few accepted the offer, however, as they had by then established ties to the colony and because of the great cost of transporting their families which was their own responsibility.

### Cadets

Nearly sixty percent of the officers serving in Venezuela began their careers as cadets. A boy could initiate his service as young as twelve years old, although he normally did so at sixteen.<sup>27</sup> Some, however, waited until their twenties. After swearing allegiance to the crown he was assigned to a regular army company for training or to a battalion academy for officer's sons. Both methods were utilized in Caracas, but in the peripheral provinces cadets had no opportunity for formal study.

In the eighteenth century formal military education was not essential for officers. Weapons were uncomplicated, tactics straight forward, and leadership was an a priori fact of birth for members of the lower nobility who became officers.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless in Caracas Province cadets were separated from the regular battalion to learn basic skills. The first Academy of Mathematics began operation in 1761 in La Guaira under the direction of artillery Captain Manuel Centurión. Among the subjects taught were arithmetic, geometry, algebra, hydraulics, fortification, and principles

of artillery. The coursework was in imitation of the Royal Artillery Corps school in Cádiz. There was no record of the Academy after 1766 when Centurión took over as governor in Guayana, and only three of the original fifteen students became army officers in Venezuela.<sup>29</sup> In 1771 the commander of the port, Mateo Gual, reported that his sons, Manuel and José Ignacio, had to study mathematics and fortification on their own because there was no longer an academy.<sup>30</sup>

A similar school in Caracas was less transitory. In 1764 under the direction of the commander of the Caracas Battalion, Colonel Nicolás Castro, Sr., cadets were assigned to a formal study program.<sup>31</sup> Actual instruction was under the direction of a second lieutenant.<sup>32</sup> The curriculum was less ambitious than that at La Guaira and included mathematics, campaigning, and obligations of command.<sup>33</sup> Whether or not a cadet was awarded a commission depended on an opening in one of the companies, not on completion of coursework or after a predetermined period of study. From 1750 to 1790 there were thirty-six criollo cadets commissioned in the Caracas Battalion. The average age they became cadets was sixteen and they became second lieutenants after an average of seven and one half years.<sup>34</sup>

Given the average age that all cadets in the captaincy general received their commissions--twenty-five years--it was not surprising to have found some who married prior to

commission. But by doing so the future officer greatly hindered his opportunities for future promotion as it was official policy to deny them commissions. In February 1771 Captain José Muñoz of Maracaibo forwarded the captain general his recommendations for a vacant second lieutenant post. His first choice was Cadet Francisco Lizarzabal and the second, Cadet Guillermo Roo. Both were descendents of army officers, had good records, and were criollos. As was generally the case, no changes were made in the recommendation by the local governor or the captain general. When Inspector General O'Reilly received the list in Madrid, however, he ordered that Lizarzabal be passed over for Roo because the latter was not married and therefore better suited for royal service.<sup>35</sup>

Some married cadets remained in service anyway claiming they had obtained the governor's permission to marry and were therefore exempt from the general rule. One example was that of Nicolás de Betancurt of Cumaná who spent twenty-two years as a cadet before promotion to second lieutenant. He became a cadet in 1759 and in 1766 married Manuela López de Puente, the daughter of a regular army lieutenant. He received a special license to marry from governor Mateo Gual, but did not obtain permission from army authorities in Spain. Due to this formality Betancurt spent two decades as a cadet.<sup>36</sup> Pedro Marqués de Valenzuela, also of Cumaná, became a cadet in 1758 at the

age of seventeen and in 1771 married Ana Maria de Alcalá, the daughter of the royal treasurer. He did not receive his commission until 1781 after serving as a cadet for over twenty-three years.<sup>37</sup>

While it was nearly impossible to determine the social origins of many of the peninsular officers who began their careers as cadets, the criollos were overwhelmingly sons of army officers. The next largest group were those whose fathers were royal officials serving in Venezuela. From 1750 to 1790 thirty-six criollos were promoted to regular army second lieutenant positions in Caracas Province. Of these, thirty-four were previously cadets, one was promoted from the ranks, and the other had served as an officer in the militia. Of the thirty-six, twenty-four were sons of military officers, four were sons of royal officials, and the origins of the other eight could not be determined.<sup>38</sup>

With the exceptions of Pedro and Antonio Suárez de Urbina, sons of elite families did not serve in the Caracas Battalion, although some were cadets and then left the army. Among the latter were Juan Bernardo Aristiguieta, José Tovar, and Gerónimo and José Ignacio Uztáriz y Tovar.<sup>39</sup> Instead, the most wealthy caraqueño families sent their sons to Spain if they wished an army career. Sons of the Marqués del Toro, the wealthiest man in the captaincy general, sent four sons to serve in the armed forces in

Spain, three in the royal guards and one in the navy.<sup>40</sup> Miguel Pacheco Mijares, son of the Conde de San Xavier, served in the same corps.<sup>41</sup> When Pacheco returned to Venezuela in 1784 he did not serve in the regular army, instead choosing to command a militia battalion while supervising the family holdings.<sup>42</sup> The most famous example, although he was not of the same social class as Toro or Pacheco Mijares, was Francisco Miranda, the "Great Precursor." All evidence indicated that while service in Venezuela was not the career choice of elite sons, one in Spain was an accepted vocation.

The backgrounds of officers in the peripheral provinces were similar to those of Caracas. In both Cumaná and Maracaibo two-thirds of the criollo officers who served as cadets prior to receiving commissions were sons of army officers. All those stationed in the frontier garrison in Guayana and one-half of those on Margarita Island were sons of officers. None of the American-born cadets were sons of sergeants when they entered the army, although a few were sons of officers who rose through the ranks.<sup>43</sup>

Captain Pedro Marquéz de Valenzuela served in both Cumaná and Maricabo and was representative of the criollo cadets who became officers in Venezuela. His father, Licendiado Pedro Marquéz, served as an alcade and fiel ejecutor, and when Cadet Marquéz entered the army in 1758



he owned three slaves, some small homes, and a three fanega (1 fanega = 1.73 acres = 0.7 hectares) banana hacienda in the Tarabacoa Valley. In comparison his father's cousin, Antonio Marquéz, also served as an alcalde but had ten slaves, a larger house measuring 21 varas (1 vara = approximately 33 inches or .836 meters) in width, a 2,000 tree cacao hacienda near the coast, a one and a half fanega sugar cane hacienda, and a sugar mill. None of his sons became army officers. The wealthiest man in the province was Diego Antoino de Alcalá, who had sixteen slaves, a house that measured 30 varas in width, and a 12,000 tree cacao hacienda in the Carico Valley; with a total net worth of over 100,000 pesos. As was the case in Caracas, the sons of wealthy families such as that of Alcalá did not serve in the local regular army, but unlike those in the capital there was no evidence they enlisted in Spain.<sup>44</sup>

#### Promotion of Non-commissioned Officers

The second route by which regular army commissions were filled--approximately one-third of all officers in Venezuela--was by promotion of sergeants. With very few exceptions, and these all in the peripheral provinces, only peninsulars rose through the ranks to the post of second lieutenant. They learned their trade on the job. On the average they were ten years older than cadets when

they received their commissions, 35.8 years compared with 24.9.<sup>45</sup>

Although the regulations forbade the promotion of a sergeant if he were married, many who were became officers. The only consideration was the social status of his wife. A married sergeant nominated for an officer's commission had to prove that his wife was of the proper social derivation (calidad). In 1800 Sergeant José Vicente Almarza was promoted to lieutenant. Upon investigation, however, authorities found that his wife was the daughter of a drummer in the militia. The promotion was then rescinded because the members of the army command believed that any man who would marry a woman of such a status was clearly not officer material.<sup>46</sup> According to Captain General Guevara, the promotion should be denied because, "Although (Almarza) has merit, he offered little hope of becoming a good officer, because by marrying someone of a low status he would ruin the decency of military service and the concept of honor . . . which would in turn erode the respect of the nobility."<sup>47</sup>

#### Direct Commissions

Approximately six percent of the officers who served in Venezuela were recipients of direct commissions. They were granted commissions for exemplary action during wartime. The best known officer in this category was Juan

de Casas who as commander of the Caracas Battalion was acting captain general from 1807 to 1809. Born in Valencia del Cid, he found himself in New Spain during the Seven Years' War and at his own expense outfitted a militia company when Spain declared war on England in 1762. Ten years later he was named a lieutenant in the Caracas Battalion, as major commanded the Venezuelan forces sent to Santo Domingo in 1793, and was rewarded with a colonelcy in 1804. He retired in February 1810, two months before the initiation of the wars for independence.<sup>48</sup>

Unlike the cases of New Spain and New Granada commissions were not sold in Venezuela.<sup>49</sup> The only serious proposal to do so was made in 1773 by Governor José Agüero in order to build barracks in Caracas and La Guaira. The plan called for the creation of four new companies to supplement the Caracas Battalion. The cost of a captaincy was to have been 5,000 pesos, a lieutenancy 3,000, and a second lieutenancy 2,000, raising a total of 40,000 pesos. Inspector General O'Reilly's reason for denying the request was that it would have been prejudicial to the battalion's officers who were more deserving of the promotions.<sup>50</sup>

During times of war several militia officers asked for direct regular army commissions, among them members of the Venezuelan elite. This was especially evident in 1793 at the initiation of hostilities with France. Among

them were the Marqués de Solorzano, the colonel of the white Caracas militia who in his application put his net worth at over 500,000 pesos.<sup>51</sup> Santiago de Ponte y Mijares, militia cavalry commander in Caracas,<sup>52</sup> and José Ignacio de Ustáriz, a captain in the cavalry militia, asked for direct commissions in the regular army.<sup>53</sup> Two notable examples from the last decade of the colonial era were those of Juan Bautista Arismendi of Margarita who later became one of the most famous Venezuelan generals during the wars for independence,<sup>54</sup> and that of the Marquis de Toro, who in 1808 asked for a colonelcy in the Caracas Battalion.<sup>55</sup> None of these militia officers received commissions in the regular army. Reasons for the denials could not be determined.

#### Fuero Militar

Once entering the regular army--whether as an enlisted man, cadet, or by direct commission--an officer's legal status separated him from ordinary royal jurisdiction by granting him the fuero de guerra militar, often referred to as the fuero militar. The regulations governing the fuero militar, built on two centuries of precedent, were codified in the Ordenanzas de S.M. para el regimen, disciplina, subordinacion y servicio de sus exercitos (1768). This code placed an officer, his nuclear family, and domestic servants and slaves under military jurisdiction

in certain criminal and civil cases. The ordinances are not explicit as to whether persons possessing the fuero were entitled to bring suit against someone under the authority of another fuero--for example a priest or merchant--or whether they were only entitled to military jurisdiction as defendants. In Venezuela, however, it appears that officers claiming jurisdiction under the fuero militar did so only as defendants. In addition the wills and testaments of regular army officers were probated and adjudicated by military tribunals.<sup>56</sup>

The exclusion of certain cases from military jurisdiction and workings of the army court system tended to make the influence of the fuero militar less pervasive than it first appears. Public interest cases such as those dealing with entailed estates, mercantile law, public office, and sedition fell under the dominion of ordinary royal jurisdiction. In addition, the court of first instance for non-military cases was the captain general in Caracas who as president of the audiencia would no doubt have been directly involved in any significant litigation whether the defendant were an army officer or not. Appeals were heard by the Consejo Supremo de Guerra, the highest military tribunal in Spain, and in exceptional cases by the crown. Purely military cases such as desertion, insubordination, dereliction of duty, and criminal acts against another member of the army, were

heard by courts-martial of general officers (Consejos de guerra de oficiales generales). No action against a regular army officer could be adjudicated without approval from Spain. Although the effect of the fuero militar does not appear to have been as important to the recruitment and status of regular army officers as it was for enlisted men and militia members, judgement by one's peers and the review available by authorities in Spain did provide a certain measure of protection from civil authorities while also allowing the army to discipline its soldiers without civilian interference.<sup>57</sup>

### Promotion

#### General Criteria

Once receiving a commission an officer's professional advancement was measured by promotion to more responsible positions. To be advanced there had to be a vacancy. This occurred in Venezuela by the creation of new posts, such as the instructorships of the militias, or by the death, retirement, or transfer of the incumbent. The normal method was to promote the officer with the most seniority.<sup>58</sup>

The local military authorities initiated the process by making an interim promotion, justifying their actions in writing, and forwarding the information to their superiors in Spain for approval.<sup>59</sup> Whenever a vacancy occurred for a

lieutenancy the captain made three recommendations in order of preference. For a captain or major the local commander made the recommendations, but the captain general made the selection. Choosing a new commander was the responsibility of the captain general.<sup>60</sup> For a position above the rank of captain the recommendation of the captain general was made according to his personal preference and not seniority. Oftentimes the captain general would pass over a captain because he believed him unsuitable. Only rarely did the metropolitan authorities alter local recommendations.<sup>61</sup>

A favorable combat record and having ancestors in the army could provide advantageous if the captain general had personal knowledge of either fact. In 1784 Lieutenant Jaime Moreno was recommended for captain in Maracaibo over officers with more time in grade because his father was a Field Marshal who had served in Venezuela.<sup>62</sup> For a vacant captaincy in the Caracas Battalion Lieutenant Diego López was preferred over two more senior lieutenants because he had wartime service in Italy.<sup>63</sup> Due to extensive combat on Santo Domingo against the French and leading militia troops to hold off the British at Carúpano near Cumaná, Julián Izquierdo rose from sergeant to lieutenant colonel in seven years.<sup>64</sup>

The rare officer who caught the attention of the captain general could advance quickly even without combat

experience. The most notable example was Fernando Miyares, a favorite of the first captain general of Venezuela, Luis de Unzaga (1777-1782). In September 1778 the crown approved Captain Miyares' transfer from Puerto Rico to the Caracas Battalion. Although a native of Cuba, he had ties to the caraqueño elite through his wife, Inés Mancebo y Quiroga. Authorities in Madrid gave him special permission to serve as Unzaga's secretary, although royal orders issued in 1774 and 1776 expressly forbade army officers from holding administrative posts while on active duty. Miyares' first assignment was to arrange and index all royal expedientes in Caracas, beginning with those of September 1572.<sup>65</sup>

In February 1783 Intendant José de Abalos appealed to the minister of the Indies to remove Miyares from his secretarial post on the grounds that he was doing everything in his power to disrupt the introduction of the intendency system. The captain was especially troublesome in Abalos' efforts to introduce the Estanco de Tobacco. In addition the intendant reported Miyares to be vain, obstinate, and extravagant, which he believed to be poor traits for a secretary or an officer. Unzaga's replacement, Manuel González, contravened the intendant's efforts and Miyares retained his position. In 1786 he became the commander in Barinas, was promoted to the governorship in Maracaibo during the 1790s, and reached the post of captain general during the wars for independence.<sup>66</sup>



Although the local military authorities could block the promotion of the most senior officer, they had to justify their actions to the army command in Madrid. In 1787 Colonel Pedro Nava of the Caracas Battalion recommended that Second Lieutenant José María Salas be passed over for someone with less time in grade. Salas protested in a letter to the Consejo de Guerra, which prompted its members to order the captain general in Caracas to investigate. His report confirmed the colonel's actions because he found that Salas was lax in his duties, left the supervision of his troops to a sergeant, and failed to reform after many warnings.<sup>67</sup> Four years later, however, the crown ordered him promoted retroactively to 1787 because they determined the real reason for Colonel Nava's action was his animosity for the lieutenant's family.<sup>68</sup> Another example was that of Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Sucre, grandfather of the future Marshal of Ayacucho, who Governor Miguel Marmion refused to recommend for commander because of his health and because he did not have "the training to perform the difficult non-military functions required of the position."<sup>69</sup>

An officer related to the captain general could be promoted regardless of seniority or merit. In 1798 Captain Ramón Correa y Guevara arrived in Venezuela with his uncle, Captain General Manuel Guevara. Two years later he attained the rank of lieutenant colonel, and in 1807 at the age of forth received word that the crown had promoted him

to colonel. The same rapid promotion was enjoyed by his brother Miguel who at the end of the colonial period was governor of Cumaná, and during the wars for independence served as commander in Coro.<sup>70</sup> Captain General Juan Guillelmi assured the assignment of his son, a cadet, to commander of Puerto Cabello over eleven field grade officers.<sup>71</sup> But the most outrageous example of nepotism was the appointment of Captain General Pedro Carbonell's grandson to a captaincy in the Caracas Battalion; he was three years old.<sup>72</sup>

A governor in an outlying province, however, could do little for his relatives. Cadet Antonio Arauz arrived on Margarita Island in 1777 with his uncle, Colonel Félix Francisco Bejanano, who served as governor. Nevertheless, Arauz remained a cadet for eighteen years before promotion to second lieutenant at the age of forty-seven. When he retired in 1792 after twenty-seven years service he was still a second lieutenant.<sup>69</sup>

#### Promotion to Field Grade Positions

The highest position in the Venezuelan military command below the captain general was the king's lieutenant, the colonel fo the Caracas Battalion. Those who held this vital post were Nicolás de Castro, Sr. (1753-1768), Francisco Arce (1768-1781), Pedro de Nava (1781-1790), Joaquín de Zubillaga (1790-1799), Juan Manuel de Cagigal

(1799-1804), and Juan de Casas (1804-1810). With the exception of Casas all were promoted from outside the battalion and departed to higher posts elsewhere in the Indies: Castro to be king's lieutenant in Panama, Arce to be governor of Maracaibo, Nava to be commander general of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, Zubillaga to be governor of Callao and subinspector of army forces in Peru, and Cagigal to be governor of Cumaná. Casas' promotion from major of the battalion to its colonel was in recognition of wartime service in Santo Domingo from 1793 to 1797 as commander of the Venezuelan forces ordered to the island.<sup>74</sup>

Equal in status to the colonel of the Caracas Battalion were the commanders in La Guaira and Puerto Cabello who in addition to their military functions were lieutenant justices of the port cities. The addition of the latter responsibilities allowed them opportunities for higher salaries than the commander of the Caracas Battalion, although they were subordinate in the military command structure. Prior to the administrative reforms of the 1770s these two positions were filled by officers of the regular army in Caracas, who rotated every two years or so. Beginning in 1772 in Puerto Cabello and in 1776 in La Guaira the crown began the practice of appointing an officer from outside the battalion to serve in these positions.

The three officers who served on permanent assignment to the commandancy of La Guaira were all peninsulars: Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza (1776-1786), Esteban de Aymerich (1787-1795), and José Vázquez y Tellez (1795-1810).<sup>75</sup>

The first two had served for some time in Venezuela: Mendoza since 1740 in several positions including governor of Margarita (1758-1762) and Guayana (1764-1766), and Aymerich since 1775 as an engineer and commander in Puerto Cabello (1781-1787).<sup>76</sup> Prior to 1795 Vázquez y Tellez served as governor of Costa Rica.<sup>77</sup>

Serving as commanders in Puerto Cabello were Manuel de Agreda (1772-1776),<sup>78</sup> Mateo Gual (1776-1777),<sup>79</sup> José Dalmaces (1778-1780),<sup>80</sup> Esteban Aymerich (1781-1787),<sup>81</sup> Antonio Guillelmi (1787-1796),<sup>82</sup> Miguel Marmion (1796-1802),<sup>83</sup> Pedro Suárez de Urbina (1802-1807),<sup>84</sup> and Juan Manuel de Salas (1807-1810).<sup>85</sup> As was the case of the commanders in La Guaira all were promoted from posts within Venezuela and, with the exception of Suárez and Salas, were peninsulars. Suárez de Urbina's posting owed to his family ties to the caraqueña elite and his service in Spain for twenty years prior to assignment to Venezuela.<sup>86</sup> In early 1810 he was assigned to the governorship of Cuba.<sup>87</sup> Salas' promotion was due to loyal service as commander in Coro during Miranda's invasion in 1806.<sup>88</sup> All of these officers ended their careers in the above posts with the exception of the previously mentioned Suárez de Urbina,

Aymerich who transferred to La Guaira, and Guillelmi who rotated back to Spain when his father's term as captain general ended.<sup>89</sup>

Other than the three positions of commander in Caracas, La Guaira, and Puerto Cabello there were only fifteen military posts within the captaincy general to which a captain could be promoted, nine of which were in Caracas Province. The most prestigious were the engineers in charge of government construction projects and the commander of the artillery units in La Guaira and Puerto Cabello. Regular army majors commanded the three white militia battalions in Caracas, the Aragua Valleys, and Valencia. Until 1797 the pardo militia forces in the same locations were commanded by captains, but from then on majors were assigned to supervise instruction and assure combat readiness. The remaining position to which a captain could be promoted in Caracas Province was to the majority of the Caracas Battalion. As in the case of the commanders, the officers promoted to these positions were almost exclusively peninsulares, although they were usually promoted from captaincies within Venezuela (all officers who attained field grade rank are listed alphabetically by province in Appendix I).

There were also field grade officers in the peripheral provinces. Overall command of the regular forces and the militias was the responsibility of the commanders in Barinas,

Cumaná, Guayana, Maracaibo, and Margarita. They were assisted in supervision of the regular army companies by a major in Cumaná and a castellano in Maracaibo. As in Caracas there was usually a high ranking engineer or artillery officer stationed in the provincial capitals.<sup>90</sup> Commanders were appointed in Coro and Nueva Barcelona, but their responsibilities were largely political rather than military because there were no regular troops assigned to either place on permanent status.<sup>91</sup> All of the initial assignments to these posts went to officers from peninsular regiments, but from then on promotions came from among the captains stationed in the provinces. Nearly all were, nevertheless, peninsulars.

### Grievances

The paucity of field grade positions was only one of the factors stifling the professional advancement of infantry officers. In addition royal policy favored the promotion of officers in Spanish-based units over those on duty in America. The purpose was not by design essentially anti-crillo--although that was in part the effect--but rather to promote men from peninsular units. Spaniards who found themselves on regular duty in Venezuela also found their opportunities for promotion thwarted by the influx of Spanish-based regiments whose officers were promoted over locals.<sup>92</sup>

From the battalion's inception in 1753 to the end of the colonial period the army command in Spain strove to post members of peninsular regiments to Caracas. By the mid-1760s the battalion's command was unable to fill the officer proletariat posts created by the attrition of those who had arrived at mid-century and had not been replaced. In 1767 members of the Santa Fé Battalion arrived in La Guaira after being blown off course from their original destination, Buenos Aires. Most of this force merged with the Caracas Battalion, denying commissions to many cadets and non-commissioned officers who would have otherwise advanced. The policy continued with the arrival of the Lombardi Regiment two years later.<sup>93</sup>

The posting of officers from outside Venezuelan units persisted to the end of the colonial period despite repeated protests from the colony. For example, in the 1780s all the subalterns of the Caracas Battalion signed a protest to the crown in which they complained about the lack of internal promotions. In response, the crown ordered that officers in Caracas should not be discriminated against by promoting outsiders.<sup>94</sup> Yet in 1805 the commander of the battalion, Colonel Juan de Casa, wrote that ". . . those officers who began their careers here have continually suffered prejudice because of promotions of outsiders of all ranks."<sup>95</sup> The same tack was taken by Major Matías Letamendi three years later when he asked

for compliance with the order that had been issued twenty years before.<sup>96</sup>

Officers posted to supervise and instruct the militia units suffered even more than those in regular army posts. After the first group of cadets and sergeants was promoted in these forces in 1771, local officials had trouble finding any officers to volunteer for the lower posts. Officers knew that it was difficult to return to regular companies and there was virtually no chance of promotion once posted to the militia units.<sup>97</sup> In 1786 First Adjutant Miguel Martínez, who had arrived with the Santa Fé Battalion in 1767 as a second lieutenant, complained that he had served in the same post for fifteen years with no possibility of promotion.<sup>98</sup> Twenty years later First Adjutant Ramón García de Sena wrote that officers who began their careers when he did but avoided the militias had risen further and faster.<sup>99</sup>

### Consequences

Because of the posting of men from peninsular units and the dearth of field grade positions, over eighty percent of all officers who ended their careers in Venezuela from 1750 to 1818 did so at the rank of captain or below.<sup>100</sup> The inability of an officer to obtain field grade rank caused frustration and disenchantment with his career choice. In 1802 Captain Jaime Moreno, who was the son of



a brigadier, pleaded for a promotion. He had served for 37 years, was 50 years old, and had not been promoted for 15 years. Moreno ended his petition by asking if "he must bury himself at the lowly rank of captain, as there was no hope of promotion without royal intervention?"<sup>101</sup>

Assignment to Venezuela meant the waning of previously notable careers, even to officers whose fathers were field marshals and generals. In 1751 Lieutenant Manuel Aponte arrived with Governor Felipe Ricardos to help contain the León Rebellion, and chose to remain with the new Caracas Battalion two years later. His father was governor of the forces in Oran, his uncle served as governor and captain general of Cartagena de Indias, and his grandfather died a general of artillery. Until his posting to Venezuela young Aponte's promotion record was excellent: he began service as a cadet at the age of nine, was promoted directly to lieutenant at fifteen, and in 1753 was awarded a captaincy at the age of twenty-seven. Captain Aponte died twenty-two years later at the age of forty-nine; he was still a captain, serving in the same post.<sup>102</sup>

Perhaps there was no better example of how detrimental service in Venezuela was to an officer's career than that of Mateo Gual, father of the conspirator Manuel Gual. The elder Gual arrived in Venezuela in 1740 with the Victoria Regiment. Promotions to that point in his career had been

expeditious: he was a second lieutenant at age thirteen, a lieutenant at eighteen, and a captain at twenty-five. These promotions were no doubt in part because of the fact that his father was a high ranking army officer on the peninsula, who eventually attained the rank of lieutenant general. In 1744 Mateo married Josefa Inés Curbelo of Caracas and therefore decided to remain in Venezuela when his unit rotated back to Spain in 1750. The crown rewarded him with a lieutenant colonelcy in 1747 at the age of thirty-two, in part because of wartime service against the British in 1743. Although he served interim appointments as commander in Puerto Cabello and as governor of Cumaná on two occasions (1753-1757 and 1765-1767) he remained a lieutenant colonel for nearly thirty years until his death in 1777.<sup>103</sup> The experiences of the Gual family paralleled that of many others in Venezuela. Often an officer who served his entire career in Europe could hope to reach the rank of colonel, while his son in Venezuelan service would never rise above lieutenant colonel, and his criollo grandson would end his career as a captain.<sup>104</sup>

#### Salaries

Aside from increased prestige, always important in colonial Spanish America, promotion to a higher rank within

the regular army or a more prestigious administrative post meant an increase in salary. Salaries for the same rank, however, varied from province to province within the captaincy general. The amount earned by infantry and artillery officers was according to regulations drawn up in the provinces and approved in Spain. Engineers, on the other hand, received salaries according to their ranks which were uniform throughout the empire.

As indicated in Table 3:1, field grade officers earned at least 1,000 pesos annually and others from 360 to 1,000. The highest salaries went to the commanders in La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, and Caracas whose earnings nearly equaled those of the oidores of the audiencia. Lieutenants earned 480 pesos annually, putting them at the same level as teachers and lower level bureaucrats. By comparison, sergeants were paid at a rate comparable to skilled workers and soldiers like laborers.

The highest paid officer in the captaincy general with strictly military functions was the colonel of the Caracas Battalion, the king's lieutenant, earning 2,616 pesos annually.<sup>105</sup> Next were the comandantes in the ports of La Guaira and Puerto Cabello who earned 2,000 pesos until 1784, when their salaries were raised to 3,000.<sup>106</sup> The commanders in Maracaibo, Cumaná and Guayana earned 1,200 pesos annually,<sup>107</sup> while majors received from 960 to 1,200 depending on their assignment.<sup>108</sup>

Table 3:1. Selected Annual Salaries, 1800.

<u>2,400 Pesos and Above</u>	
Gobernador y Capitán General (Caracas)	9,000
Regente de la Real Audiencia (Caracas)	5,000
Gobernador e Intendente (Cumaná and Maracaibo)	4,000
Oidor de la Real Audiencia (Caracas)	3,300
Fiscal de la Real Audiencia (Caracas)	3,300
Comandante y Justicia Mayor (La Guaira and Puerto Cabello)	3,000
Contador Mayor de la Real Hacienda (Caracas)	3,000
Director de Ingenieros, Brigadier (Spain and Indies)	3,000
Coronel, Teniente del rey (Caracas Battalion)	2,616
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<u>1,200 to 2,399</u>	
Subdelgado de la Real Hacienda (Caracas)	2,000
Ingeniero en Jefe, coronel (Spain and Indies)	2,000
Oficial de la Secretaría (Caracas)	1,800
Secretario de la Capitanía General (Caracas)	1,500
Auditor de Guerra (Caracas and Maracaibo)	1,500
Ingeniero segundo, teniente coronel (Spain and Indies)	1,500
Sargento mayor (Regular Army assigned to Blanco Militia, Caracas, Valles de Aragua, and Valencia)	1,200
-----	
<u>600 to 1,199</u>	
Sargento mayor (Caracas Battalion)	1,164
Ingeniero ordinario, capitán (Spain and Indies)	1,000
Capitán, artillería (Caracas Battalion)	816
Ingeniero extraordinario, teniente (Spain and Indies)	800
Capitán, infantería (Caracas Battalion)	720
Sub-inspector (Regular Army assigned to Pardo Militia, Caracas, Valles de Aragua, and Valencia)	600
Ayudante Mayor (Caracas Battalion)	600
Secretario de Gobierno (Maracaibo)	600
Auditor de Guerra (Cumaná)	600
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(continued)

Table 3:1. Continued.

<u>300 to 599</u>	
Maestro de gramática y primeras letras (Caracas)	500
Oficial Tercero de la Administración General de la	
Real Renta de Tobacco (Caracas)	500
Cirujano (Caracas Battalion)	480
Teniente, infantería (Caracas Battalion)	480
Guarda almacén de artillería (Cumaná)	360
Subteniente, infantería (Caracas Battalion)	360
Capellán (Caracas Battalion)	300
Administrador de alimentos y medicinas (Hospital	
Real de la Tropa, Puerto Cabello)	300
Oficial primero del Real Derecho de Alcabala (Caracas)	300
Portero del Tribunal del Consulado (Caracas)	300
-----	
<u>Below 300</u>	
Oficial segundo del Real Derecho de Alcabala (Caracas)	250
Sargento primero, infantería (Caracas Battalion)	180
Oficial de albañilería (Caracas, @ 4 reales daily	
for 316 days)	158
Corporal primero, infantería (Caracas Battalion)	132
Peon de albañilería (Caracas, @ 3 reales for 316 days)	118½
Soldado, infantería (Caracas Battalion)	108
Labrador (Caracas Province, @ 2 reales daily for	
316 days)	79

Source: José Antonio Limonta, Libro de la razón de la Real Hacienda del Departamento de Caracas (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1962), pp. 196, 262- , and 289; Contadores Reales de las Cajas de Puerto Cabello to Captain General, Puerto Cabello, April 9, 1774, in Suárez, Instituciones, p. 466; Nombramiento de Jose Martín de Frias, Aranjuez, February 28, 1808, AGI CAR 844; "Metodo en el cobro del Real Derecho de Alcabala," Caracas, July 8, 1772, AGI CAR 81; Index of Royal Orders, Caracas, June 11, 1804, AGI CAR 104; José Antonio Caballero to Miguel Cayetano Soler, San Lorenzo, December 2, 1801, AGI CAR 846; Memorial of José Burguillos, Caracas, October ?, 1804, AGI CAR 465; and Miguel Acosta Saignes, "Materiales de construcción y precios," Estudio de Caracas, 15 vols. (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1967-1973), II:716.

Other field grade officers were the Engineering Directors (Brigadiers) who earned 3,000 pesos, Chief Engineers (Colonels) earning 2,000, and Second Engineers (Lieutenant Colonels) making 1,500.<sup>109</sup>

The majority of army officers--the captains, lieutenants, and second lieutenants--earned between 336 and 720 pesos annually. Generally an infantry captain earned 720 pesos annually, a first adjutant 600, lieutenant and second adjutant 480, and second lieutenant 384, which were the salaries assigned in the 1768 Regulations of the Caracas Battalion.<sup>110</sup> In Cumaná, Guayana, and on Margarita Island officers earned less: captains 600 pesos, lieutenants 384, and second lieutenants 336.<sup>111</sup> Engineer and artillery officers earned from twenty-five to fifty percent more than infantry officers of the same rank.<sup>112</sup>

Although the pay rates were fixed by the regulations in each area, the crown could by special dispensation pay an officer a higher salary. One example was that of Captain Rafael Delgado who served as castellano (roughly equivalent to a major) in Maracaibo. His rank called for a salary of 50 pesos per month, but since he served as castellano he was entitled to 80 pesos monthly. As he was of noble birth and married to the daughter of Brigadier Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza, a former governor, the crown increased his salary to 100 pesos per month, "por gracia especial."<sup>113</sup>

The crown did not approve any pay increases during the 1750 to 1810 period for the officers or men in regular army units after the date regulations were issued for each. Salaries were set for the forces in Caracas in 1753, for Maracaibo in 1758, Guayana in 1763, Margarita in 1777, Cumaná in 1779, and for the company in Barinas in 1801.<sup>104</sup>

The case of the companies in Maracaibo was representative. There the captains and subalterns earned less in the early nineteenth century than they had in the middle of the eighteenth. In 1757 one captain earned 1,224 pesos annually, and the other two 960. The next year all three were reduced to 720. Prior to the 1758 Regulations the lieutenants earned 480 pesos and the second lieutenants 360. After that year the former were reduced to 336.<sup>115</sup>

Officer pay was subject to deductions, which did not apply to enlisted men. For every peso of salary, eight maravedíes (1 peso de plata = 8 reales = 272 maravedíes in Venezuela; 1 peso in Venezuela = 20 reales de vellón in Madrid; 1 peso in Venezuela = 0.67 escudos in Madrid) were retained for the Disabled Soldiers Fund (Inválidos), and the same amount for the Military widow and Orphan Plan (Montepío Militar). In 1706 the crown established the Disabled Fund to aid invalids unable to continue active duty, while the Widow and Orphan Plan began in 1761.<sup>116</sup> A second lieutenant earning 408 pesos annually would contribute 12 pesos to the Disabled Fund and 11 pesos and

5 reales to the Montepío Plan, leaving a take-home pay of 384 pesos and 3 reales, or 94.2 percent of his base pay.<sup>117</sup>

An officer serving in a non-military administrative position, such as the captaincy general, paid deductions on his entire salary rather than only the amount due for his military rank.<sup>118</sup>

### Grievances and Abuses

The chief complaints by officers prior to the treasury reforms under Indendant José de Abalos in the 1770s were the crown's failure to approve commissions made by the governor and the irregularity of pay. Both grievances were especially prevalent during the 1750s in Maracaibo and Cumaná where nearly all officers were appointed by the local governor or military commander and were awaiting royal approval. Officers serving with interim unconfirmed commissions received from one-half to two-thirds the salary fixed by regulations depending on their location.<sup>119</sup> In May 1756 Governor Felipe Ricardos promoted Second Lieutenant José Muñoz to lieutenant in Maracaibo. His salary in his old post was 28 pesos per month and his lieutenant's pay was to be 40. But since the appointment was interim until confirmed by the crown he only received half salary, a loss of 8 pesos a month although he had been promoted.<sup>120</sup>

While half or two-thirds pay was temporarily inconvenient, there were times when officers were not paid for



years. The payment of salaries depended upon the Caracas Company, which tended to favor the troops stationed near its base of operations in and around Caracas. In addition, until 1777 with the creation of the captaincy general, payment of the forces in Maracaibo and Guayana was supervised from Bototá. Consequently, bureaucratic snafus and the fluctuations of the Company's profits impaired the regular payment of the officers and men outside Caracas Province.

In 1757 Ignacio de Lizarzabal petitioned the crown for back payment for his father, Francisco, and his brother, Diego, both deceased. The former had been captain of the presidio in Maracaibo by royal order from May 1713 to December 1733, when Diego took over until his death in February 1755. As heir to both estates, Ignacio complained that he was left with the care of his father's abandoned sons, daughters, and widow. He added that he had few goods and many creditors, and was also bothered by floods and Indians who attacked the mainstay of the clan, a cacao hacienda.

The total amount asked for in the petition was 13,989 pesos; 7,144 representing the father's pay, and 6,845 for his brother's. After more than thirty years of litigation the crown by royal order dated April 14, 1791, decided to settle up with Ignacio, or by that time his heirs: his legitimate daughters María Isabel, María del

Rosario, and María Concepción. These were the grand-daughters of Francisco and the nieces of Diego. But even then the settlement was less than satisfactory. Instead of the nearly 14,000 pesos petitioned for, the crown agreed to pay 11,073 pesos and 5 reales. Furthermore, instead of paying off the debt in a lump sum, the heirs were to receive 550 pesos per year until the debt was paid over twenty years. The amount represented a rate less than the captains would have been earning if they were on active duty.<sup>121</sup>

These were similar cases in Cumaná. When Captain Francisco Javier González de Flores died in 1779 his widow, Josefa Margarita Rengel y Loaisa, petitioned the crown for 18,049 pesos owed her husband from the 1750s.<sup>122</sup> In another example the authorities in Spain agreed in 1793 to pay the heirs of Adjudant Dionisio Sánchez 3,199 pesos representing six and one-half years back pay.<sup>123</sup>

Militia units called to active duty also had trouble receiving pay. In 1804 officers of the pardo militia in Cumaná complained that they had not been paid for four decades of service. According to the pardo officers they had first been given formal instruction by Mateo Gual in 1767 and had served on active duty at various times when the province was threatened. They had been called to duty in the 1780s to aid the forces on Trinidad Island, in 1797 to Guayana where they were garrisoned fourteen months,

the next year to Carúpano, and off and on in Cumaná itself. They maintained that they had never received a salary nor had they been compensated for the time away from their families and farms.<sup>124</sup>

### Supplemental Income

Some officers were able to use their positions to supplement salaries. Prior to the establishment of the intendency in 1776 the commanders in La Guaira and Puerto Cabello more than doubled their 2,000 pesos annual salaries by collecting special fees.<sup>125</sup> By his own admission, Colonel Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza, the commander in La Guaira from 1772 to 1786, annually made 2,500 pesos from anchorage fees, and 741 pesos from licensing 57 retail stores at 13 pesos apiece. These fees were legally the commander's, until the establishment of the intendency when they were placed with general revenues. To compensate him for his loss in income the crown raised Moreno's salary to 3,000 pesos annually, which was still 2,000 less than he earned prior to the reform.<sup>126</sup>

The tightening of fiscal administration also worked to cut the prerequisites of army officers serving in other bureaucratic posts. Oftentimes captains were assigned to serve as lieutenant justices, the highest royal officials outside the provincial capitals. Although forbidden from

doing so by a royal order dated September 23, 1727,<sup>127</sup> twenty-six army officers of the Caracas Battalion served as lieutenant justices from 1750 to 1776.<sup>128</sup> Through such an appointment an officer could earn considerable supplemental income. For instance the lieutenant justice in Nueva Barcelona earned 300 pesos annually from the sale of pulpería (tavern) licenses.<sup>129</sup>

With the reforms initiated under the intendant these opportunities for supplemental income ended for officers on active duty. In addition to the regulations which transferred the income earned from the licensing fees to the treasury, royal orders of November 17, 1774, and October 22, 1776, forbade regular army officers from holding administrative posts while on active duty and therefore two salaries.<sup>130</sup> Finally, in 1789 militia majors (who were regular army officers) lost their right to collect licensing fees for billiard, pool, and bowling establishments.<sup>131</sup>

While many field grade officers served in administrative posts in the expanding bureaucracy, those ranks captain and below were cut off from obtaining legal supplemental income after 1776.<sup>132</sup> In the outlying provinces from time to time served in these posts, but they did so by interim appointments until a civilian could be posted. This presented a serious blow to the officers as the post of lieutenant justice were eagerly sought and its acquisition

was a sure way to enrich oneself.<sup>133</sup> Thus while there were abuses after the introduction of the intendancy, the number of regular army officers on active duty serving in administrative posts and collecting supplemental legal income fell dramatically. For example, Captain General Juan Guillelmi, who served from 1786 to 1792, did not appoint any officers of the Caracas Battalion to local administrative posts.<sup>134</sup>

Officers also could obtain added income from illegal activities. Many were involved in contraband trade during the eighteenth century. In 1750 Captain Carlos Sucre protested the clandestine business dealings of Brigadier Diego Tabares, the governor of Cumaná. According to Sucre the governor and his wife dealt in French, Dutch, and Danish goods and were hurting legitimate commerce.<sup>135</sup> Lieutenant Joaquín Baquerizo of the Caracas Battalion received a two year suspension from office for falsifying ship records and receiving goods in Coro in 1776.<sup>136</sup> Lieutenant Miguel Mas openly ferried goods between Cumaná and Trinidad Island during the 1790s.<sup>137</sup>

Other officers received kickbacks as middlemen to merchants who supplied uniforms to the army. During peacetime uniforms were replaced every two years at considerable expense.<sup>138</sup> In 1778 they cost 23,885 pesos, 7 reales, and 18 maravedies for the 689 soldiers of the Caracas Battalion, an expenditure of over 34 pesos per soldier.<sup>139</sup>

If all the approximately 1,500 soldiers in the regular army in the captaincy general received new uniforms it would have meant the transfer of over 50,000 pesos. In addition many of the thousands of militiamen received uniforms, but not all. Although army authorities knew of these schemes and which officers were involved, they did little to stop it.<sup>140</sup> One exception was Major José de Esquivel who was convicted of embezzling 3,000 pesos from the funds discounted from the enlisted men and left in his care. The army command in Madrid ordered him out of the service.<sup>141</sup>

As military obligations took little time, army officers could maintain haciendas and therefore supplement their salary.<sup>142</sup> In 1761 Governor Felipe Remírez reported that Lieutenant Colonel Manuel de Agreda received 80 to 90 pesos per month from a small cacao hacienda and homes he rented in Puerto Cabello, which more than doubled his income.<sup>143</sup> In the same year Captain Juan Valdés of Guayana owned a sugar cane plantation which was worked by nineteen slaves, and a large herd of livestock.<sup>144</sup> Another example was Antonio Alcover, a regular army officer assigned to instruct the militia in Valencia, who owned a tobacco plantation in the Valle de Guayca.<sup>145</sup> Captain Manuel Matos, who in 1808 was involved in a conspiracy to end Spanish rule, was a large coffee grower.<sup>146</sup>

In 1783 Captain General Manuel González recommended that Captain Antonio Sucre, grandfather of the Mariscal de Ayacucho, receive special recognition from the crown for his agricultural activities. While González served as governor of Cumaná, from 1780 to 1782, commercial export income was low, so he encouraged Sucre to visit the Valles de Aragua near Caracas to observe añil cultivation. Upon his return to Cumaná he began to raise the crop and others soon followed his example. The project was successful for growers received high prices for their añil on Martinique.<sup>147</sup>

#### Effects of Inflation

While some officers had outside income, the majority did not and therefore had to stretch their salaries farther and farther because of rising prices brought on by the demise of the Caracas Company in the 1780s, the expansion of free trade in the 1790s, and wars from 1793 onward. At the turn of the century officers in Cumaná and Caracas petitioned the metropolitan authorities for an increase in salary to match the rise in the cost of living. In May 1800 all the officers of the regular army in Cumaná collectively wrote the minister of war asking that their salaries be increased. They complained that the scarcity of essential goods had caused prices to rise 300 percent while their income remained unchanged. Consequently they were

forced to live at the level of enlisted men and were unable therefore to maintain themselves in the style desired by the crown. They concluded by mentioning that even though goods were less expensive and more plentiful in Caracas, officers received higher salaries in the capital.<sup>148</sup>

In fact, however, officers in Caracas were no better off than those in Cumaná. In June 1800, the month after the letter from the officers in Cumaná, the commander of the Caracas Battalion, Juan Manuel de Cagigal, wrote the Madrid command asking that the captains under his command receive a raise. He argued that these officers were at the end of the careers and were not, as elsewhere in the Indies, able to fall back on the incomes of large estates. They were sons of Europeans without the ability to maintain themselves or their families at a level equal to a "poor noble." According to Cagigal the reason for this decline in status since the 1768 Regulations was the "tremendous rise in the cost of necessities since the abolition of the (Caracas) Company and the institution of free trade."<sup>149</sup>

### Conclusion

The foregoing analysis allows the delineation of common characteristics of regular army officers serving in Venezuela from 1750 to 1810. Europeans outnumbered Americans two to one, with the majority of criollos serving outside Caracas Province. There was no significant



difference over time relating to birthplace; there were always more Europeans serving in the officer corps. Nevertheless, in Maracaibo nearly all were criollos. Those who retired, died, or transferred from a Venezuelan unit spent twenty of their thirty years in military service in the captaincy general. Most were sons of military officers and entered the army as cadets, although there was some opportunity for peninsular enlisted men to earn a commission. There were no criollo sergeants promoted to the officer corps. Thus the regular army was not a vehicle for upward social mobility for Americans. Sons of Venezuelan elites did not serve in the regular army in Venezuela, although some did in Spain. Finally, on an average they lived to the age of fifty-three, with no appreciable differences between Europeans and Americans.

Once receiving a commission the typical officer had little opportunity to improve his socioeconomic status. Some obtained wealth and political power, but in all cases this owed to status enjoyed prior to arrival to Venezuela. Because of the policy of promoting officers from peninsular units, and the paucity of field grade positions, over eighty percent of the 485 officers ended their careers at the rank of captain or below. Low pay coupled with rising prices exacerbated their dissatisfaction by the end

of the century. Finally, because of the reforms of the 1770s regular army officers had almost no opportunity to earn legal supplemental income from their posts.

### Notes to Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>"Lista de los Individuos que componen el Real Cuerpo de Ingenieros para el año 1799," Madrid (1800), Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Moderna, legajo 5837 (hereafter, AGS GM).

<sup>2</sup>Commissions of Manuel Agreda, El Pardo, February 22, 1772, AGI CAR 479; José Linares, Madrid, January 12, 1775, AGI CAR 844; Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza, El Pardo, March 18, 1776, AGI CAR 843; Pedro González Moreno, Madrid, July 3, 1779, AGI CAR 844; and Salvador Muñoz, El Palacio, March 31, 1784, AGI CAR 845.

<sup>3</sup>Royal Order, Aranjuez, June 21, 1794, AGI CAR 843; and Service Record of Miguel Ungaro y Dusmet, Caracas, December 31, 1799, AGS GM 7295.

<sup>4</sup>Commission of Francisco de Arce, San Ildefonso, September 2, 1778, AGI CAR 843.

<sup>5</sup>Santiago Gerardo Suárez, Las instituciones militares Venezolanas del período hispánico en los archivos (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1969), pp. 148-149.

<sup>6</sup>Reglamento de la fundación y establecimiento del Monte de Piedad (Madrid: Gabriel Ramírez, 1761), p. 49, says: "En esta regla se han de comprehender tambien los Individuos de nuestra Real Compañia de Guardias de Corps, y los Cadetes, y Sargentos de toda Tropa, que passaren á Oficiales en sus propios Cuerpos, ó á otros." (Emphasis mine.)

<sup>7</sup>A specific example is "Extracto de la revista pasada por . . . (el) Tesorero General de esta Provincia," Caracas January 7, 1793, AGI CAR 852.

<sup>8</sup>See Chapter III.

<sup>9</sup>A specific example is "Contaduría del Ejercito," Caracas, Año de 1783, AGI CAR 478.

<sup>10</sup>The commissions for Caracas Province are in AGI CAR 843; for Cumaná and Guayana in AGI CAR 844; Maracaibo and Margarita in AGI CAR 845; and loose in AGI CAR 846-850.

<sup>11</sup>Service Records of José Bosi, Caracas, December 31, 1767, AGI CAR 866; and Guayana, December 31, 1771, AGI CAR 138.

<sup>12</sup>Service Records of Pedro Roo, Caracas, December 31, 1767, AGI CAR 866; December 31, 1774, AGI CAR 850; and December 31, 1786, AGI CAR 851.

<sup>13</sup>Service Records of the Marqués de Mijares and José Antonio Bolívar, Caracas, December 31, 1788, AGS GM 7293; and Service Records of Cumaná Officers, *ibid*.

<sup>14</sup>Juan Marchena Fernández, "El ejército de America: El Component Humano," Revista de Historia Militar (Madrid) 51 (1981): 119-54.

<sup>15</sup>Lieutenant Nicolás Mandía died fourteen days after taking over as sub-inspector of the Pardo Militia forces in Valencia. Memorial of María Gerónima Guerra, Valencia, April 13, 1790, AGI CAR 465.

<sup>16</sup>"Estado que manifiesta el numero, clase y sueldos de los oficiales del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria existentes en la Provincia de Caracas . . . por Juan Guillelmi," Caracas, April 30, 1790, AGS GM 7294; and "Lista de los Individuos que componen el Real Cuerpo de Ingenieros," Madrid (1800), AGS GM 5837.

<sup>17</sup>"Relación de los Oficiales Militares de sueldo continuo que estando en servicio, o destinados en esta Provincia han fallecido desde 1 de Mayo de 1761 en que se establecio el Monte Pío Militar, hasta fin de Diciembre de 1793, con expresión de los grados que obtienen y sueldos que gozaban al tiempo del fallecimiento," Caracas, February 20, 1794, AGI CAR 484.

<sup>18</sup>See Appendix V.

<sup>19</sup>See Appendix IV.

<sup>20</sup>Manuel de Guevara to Minister of War, Caracas, July 13, 1801, AGI CAR 99.

<sup>21</sup>Service Records of Agustín de Ochoa, La Guaira, July 7, 1758, AGI CAR 865; and Francisco Rondon, La Guaira, July 7, 1758, ibid.

<sup>22</sup>See Chapter 1, pp. .

<sup>23</sup>Agüero to Julián de Arriaga, Caracas, March 20, 1773, AGI CAR 82.

<sup>24</sup>Memorial of Diego Ufano, in Agüero to Arriaga, Caracas, November 25, 1772, AGI CAR 81.

<sup>25</sup>Felipe Remírez to Arriaga, Caracas, October 1, 1757, AGI CAR 864; and Juan Guillelmi to Sonora, Caracas, December 26, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

<sup>26</sup>Memorial of Bernardino López, Caracas, April 11, 1791, AGI CAR 93.

<sup>27</sup>Alejandro O'Reilly to Arriaga, Madrid, April 17, 1771, AGI CAR 867.

<sup>28</sup>John Childs, Armies and Warfare in Europe, 1648-1789 (Manchester: University Press, 1982), p. 98.

<sup>29</sup>Manuel Centurion to Arriaga, La Guaira, July 30, 1761, AGI CAR 865.

<sup>30</sup>Mateo Gual to Arriaga, La Guaira, April 9, 1771, AGI CAR 867.

<sup>31</sup>José Solano to Arriaga, Caracas, November 12, 1764, AGI CAR 866; and Hojas de servicio, I:267-268.

<sup>32</sup>Service Records of Manuel Garcia de la Huerta, Caracas, December 31, 1774, AGI CAR 868; and José de Pineda, Caracas, December 31, 1786, AGI CAR 851.

<sup>33</sup>"Relación de la Escuela Militar de Cadetes," Caracas, June 30, 1775, AGI CAR 850.

<sup>34</sup>For sons of army officers see: Service Records of Antonio Ayala, December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Juan Pablo Ayala, December 1799, Hojas de servicio, I:113-114; Manuel Ayala, Jr., December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Juan Carrion, December 1783, AGI CAR 87; Nicolas Castro, Jr., December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Agustín Concha, December 1799, Hojas, I:294-295; José Lucas Concha, December 1783, AGI CAR 87; Francisco Dalmaces, December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Manuel Dalmaces, ibid.; José Ignacio Gual, December 1777, Hojas II:36-37; Manuel Gual, December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Agustín

Pedrosa, January 1767, AGI CAR 866; Blas Landaeta, December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Pedro Manrique, Jr., December 1799, AGI CAR 857; Ignacio Matos, December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Manuel Matos, *ibid*; José Miyares, *ibid.*; Diego Monteverde, December 1777, AGI CAR 869; Manuel Moreno de Mendoza, December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Bernardo Muro, December 1799, *Hojas*, II: 381; Miguel Negrete, December 1805, *Hojas*, II:393-394; José Pineda, December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Manuel Ponce, December 1782, AGI CAR 872; Pedro Rosa, December 1780, AGI CAR 850; and Gerónimo Tello, December 1785, *Hojas*, III:329-330. Sons of royal officials were Pedro Suárez de Urbina, December 1806, *Hojas*, III:320-321; Juan de Lira, December 1774, AGI CAR 843; Juan de la Romana, January 1767, AGI CAR 866; José María and Juan Manuel Salas, December 1780, AGI CAR 850. Of unknown origins with their service records were José Rodríguez, December 1780, AGI CAR 850; Luis de Vargas, Caracas, Montepío Records, December 1783. AGI CAR 478; Andres Maso, December 1763, AGI CAR 843; and Juan Antonio Pelaez, July 1758, AGI CAR 866.

<sup>35</sup>Promotion Recommendations of José Muñoz, Maracaibo, February 28, 1771, AGI CAR 49.

<sup>36</sup>Memorial of Nicolás de Betancurt, Cumaná, June 30, 1772, AGI CAR 879; and Sebastián José Conde to Luis de la Cova, Cumaná, *ibid*.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, and Service Record of Pedro Marquéz, Maracaibo, December 1783, AGI CAR 883.

<sup>38</sup>See note 34.

<sup>39</sup>Nombramiento of Juan Bernardo Aristiguieta, May 31, 1783, AGI CAR 871; Remírez to Arriaga, Caracas, October 8, 1760, AGI CAR 865; and Service Record of José Tovar, Caracas, December 31, 1782, AGI CAR 872.

<sup>40</sup>Guillermo Lohmann Villena, Los americanos en los ordenes nobiliarios, 1529-1900, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1957), I:359-361 and II:221.

<sup>41</sup>Miguel Pacheco to Arriaga, Barcelona, May 24, 1760, AGI CAR 865; and Memorial of Miguel Pacheco, Barcelona, March 18, 1778, AGI CAR 872.

<sup>42</sup>Miguel Pacheco to Gálvez, Barcelona, October 6, 1784, AGI CAR 872.

43. The officers in Cumaná from non-military families were José Antonio Bastardo, Nicolas Betancourt, Martín Coronado, Antonio Pfo Ponte, Gaspar Salavarría, Domingo Urganaja, and Diego Vallenilla; those in Maracaibo were Luis Gutierrez Célis, Diego Duran, Antonio de la Guerra, Antonio Iriarte, José Antonio Lizardo, and Cristóbal Martín Mendieta y Ochoa; and in Margarita José Guevara and José María Marcano.

44. Service Record of Pedro José de Marquéz de Valenzuela, Cumaná, December 1786, AGI CAR 880; "Primera Pieza de Autos de la Visita General de la Gobernacion de Cumaná practicada en este ano de 1761, por el Coronel Don Joseph Diguja Villagomez su Gobernador y Capital General, que comprehende la de todas las Ciudades, Villas y Poblaciones de Espanoles de su Jurisdiccion, y son las contenidas en el estado que va por Cabeza para su mas pronto manejo, y inteligencia," Cumaná, 1761, AGI CAR 201, folios 600-601, 605-606, and 607; and Carlos Iturriza Guillen, Algunas Familias de Cumaná (Caracas: Italgráfica, 1973), pp. 345-350.

45. See Appendix IV.

46. Unzaga to Gálvez, Caracas, May 14, 1779, AGI CAR 85; and Guillelmi to Alange, Caracas, July 25, 1791, AGI CAR 93.

47. Guevara to Antonio Coronel, Caracas, July 31, 1800, AGI CAR 96.

48. Service Record of Juan de Casas, Caracas, December 31, 1805, AGI CAR 893.

49. Christon I. Archer, The Army in Bourbon Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977), pp. 194-199; and Allan J. Kuethe, Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1978), p. 171.

50. José Carlos Agüero to Alejandro O'Reilly, Caracas, May 12, 1772, in Suárez, Fuerzas, pp. 158-160; and O'Reilly to Agüero, Madrid, November 24, 1773, in Suárez, Instituciones, pp. 43-44.

51. Memorial of the Marques de Mijares, Caracas, June 20, 1793, AGI CAR 94.

52. Memorial of Santiago de Ponte y Mijares, Caracas, June 25, 1793, AGI CAR 94.

<sup>53</sup> Memorial of José Ignacio Ustáriz, Caracas, July 24, 1793, AGI CAR 94.

<sup>54</sup> Memorial of Juan Bautista Arismendi, Margarita, August 26, 1802, AGI CAR 100.

<sup>55</sup> Memorial of the Marqués de Toro, Caracas, March 22, 1808, AGI CAR 107.

<sup>56</sup> Lyle N. McAlister, The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain, 1764-1800 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957), pp. 5-13; and Guillelmi to Alange, Caracas, September 29, 1790, AGI CAR 92.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.; and Depons, Travels, p. 71. For examples of cases in Venezuela see Agüero to Gálvez, Caracas, October 16, 1776, AGI CAR 868, in which the captain general refused to uphold the Caracas cabildo's claim to jurisdiction over the freedom of Lieutenant Juan de Casas' slave; Guillelmi to Valdés, Caracas, December 31, 1788, AGI CAR 112; concerning the insubordination of Second Lieutenant Manuel Matos; and "Sumaría instruida para averiguar si el Capitan Don Ignacio Matos se halla ingerido de demencia," Caracas, May 30, 1805, AGI CAR 105, describing the hearings to determine whether Captain Ignacio Matos was insane.

<sup>58</sup> For a typical example see the promotion list of Luis de Unzaga to José de Gálvez, Caracas, September 14, 1778, AGI CAR 84.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Regulations of the Caracas Battalion, Madrid, July 8, 1768, AGI CAR 883.

<sup>61</sup> Francisco Arce to Arriaga, Caracas, January 24, 1772, AGI CAR 81; and Manuel González to Gálvez, Caracas, October 25, 1783, AGI CAR 85.

<sup>62</sup> González to Gálvez, Caracas, November 6, 1784, AGI CAR 87.

<sup>63</sup> Guillelmi to Gálvez, Caracas, August 23, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

<sup>64</sup> Service Record of Julián Izquierdo, Caracas, December 1808, Hojas militares, II:114-116.

<sup>65</sup> Service Record of Fernando Miyares, Caracas, December 1785, AGI CAR 851; and González to Gálvez, Caracas, December 23, 1784, AGI CAR 873.

<sup>66</sup> José de Abalos to Gálvez, Caracas, February 18, 1783, AGI CAR 476; and Lohmann Villena, Americanos, II: 383-384.

<sup>67</sup> Memorial of José María Salas, La Guaira, May 6, 1788, AGI CAR 116.

<sup>68</sup> Commission of José María Salas, El Palacio, February 12, 1791 (backdated to September 12, 1787), AGI CAR 843.

<sup>69</sup> Miguel Marmion to Gálvez, Cumaná, June 26, 1783, AGI CAR 130.

<sup>70</sup> Service Record of Pamón Correa, Maracaibo, December 1814, Hojas de servicio, I:308-311.

<sup>71</sup> Guillelmi to Gálvez, Caracas, March 22, 1787, AGI CAR 874; and Memorial of Antonio Guillelmi, Puerto Cabello, August 20, 1789, AGI CAR 113.

<sup>72</sup> Service Record of Pedro Carbonnell, Caracas, December 1799, AGS GM 7295.

<sup>73</sup> Service Record of Antonio Arauz, Asunción, December 1784, AGI CAR 851.

<sup>74</sup> Memorial of Rosalía Pacheco, Caracas, April 30, 1782, AGI CAR 872; Commissions of Fernando Arce, San Ildefonso, September 2, 1778, AGI CAR 843; of Pedro de Nava, San Ildefonso, August 5, 1781, ibid.; of Joaquín de Zubillaga, El Palacio, July 9, 1790, ibid.; Juan Manuel de Cagigal, Aranjuez, June 15, 1799, ibid.; and Juan de Casas, Aranjuez, March 19, 1799, ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Prior to the arrival of Vásquez, Antonio López Chavez served briefly during the Gual and España conspiracy. Caracciolo Parra Perez, Historia de la Primera Republica de Venezuela, 2 vols. (Caracas Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1959), I:136-137.

<sup>76</sup> Relación de servicios del Coronel Don Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza (Madrid 1774); Commission of Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza, El Pardo, March 18, 1776, AGI CAR 843; Service Record of Esteban Aymerich, December 1786, AGS GM 5837; and Memorial of Maria de Rosario Varas y Varnola, La Guaira, December 20, 1802, AGI CAR 103.

<sup>77</sup> Commission of José Vásquez y Tellez, San Lorenzo, November 19, 1795, AGI CAR 843.



<sup>78</sup> Felipe Remírez to Arriaga, Caracas, May 18, 1761, AGI CAR 865; Service Record of Manuel Agreda, Puerto Cabello, July 31, 1764, AGI CAR 866; and Commission of Manuel Agreda, El Pardo, February 22, 1772.

<sup>79</sup> Service Record of Mateo Gual, Puerto Cabello, August 12, 1776, AGI CAR 868; Commissio of Mateo Gual, San Idelfonso, August 15, 1776, AGI CAR 868; and Unzaga to Gálvez, Caracas, November 27, 1777, AGI CAR 84.

<sup>80</sup> Service Record of José Dalmaces, Caracas, April 30, 1755, AGI CAR 850; and Commission of José Dalmaces, El Pardo, March 15, 1778, AGI CAR 843.

<sup>81</sup> Service Record of Esteban Aymerich, Puerto Cabello, December 1786, AGS GM 5837.

<sup>82</sup> Memorial of Antonio Guillemi, Puerto Cabello, August 20, 1789, AGI CAR 113; and Commission of Antonio Guillemi, Aranjuez, May 31, 1787, AGI CAR 843.

<sup>83</sup> Service Record of Miguel Marmion, Cumaná, December 1778, AGI CAR 850; and Commission of Miguel Marmion, San Lorenzo, November 14, 1796, AGI CAR 843.

<sup>84</sup> Service Record of Pedro Suárez de Urbina, Caracas, December 31, 1806, Hojas de servicio, III:320-321; Caballero to Miguel Cayetano Soler, El Palacio, July 18, 1802, AGI CAR 846.

<sup>85</sup> Juan Vicente de Arce to Cayetano, Caracas, March 26, 1808, AGI CAR 883; and Memorial of Juan Manuel de Salas, Caracas, February 20, 1808, AGI CAR 107. Emeterio Urena was named to the post in early 1810. Suárez, Instituciones, p. 97.

<sup>86</sup> Service Record of Pedro Suárez de Urbina, Caracas, December 1806, Hojas de servicio, III:320-321.

<sup>87</sup> Gazeta de Caracas, January 19, 1810.

<sup>88</sup> Memorial of Juan Manuel de Salas, Caracas, February 20, 1808, AGI CAR 107.

<sup>89</sup> Commission of Antonio Guillelmi, Aranjuez, May 31, 1787, AGI CAR 843; and Commission of Miguel Marmion, San Lorenzo, November 14, 1796, AGI CAR 843.

<sup>90</sup> See Appendix VI.

<sup>91</sup>Francisco Machado to Gálvez, Madrid, December 29, 1777, AGI CAR 880; and Commission of Andres Boguiero, Aranjuez, June 21, 1794, AGI CAR 843.

<sup>92</sup>See Appendix IV.

<sup>93</sup>Mateo Gual to Arriaga, La Guaira, April 9, 1771, AGI CAR 867; O'Reilly to Arriaga, Madrid, April 17, 1771, AGI CAR 867; and Francisco Arce to Arriaga, Caracas, January 29, 1772, AGI CAR 867.

<sup>94</sup>Memorial of Blas Landaeta, Antonio Moreno, Pedro de la Rosa, Juan Manuel de Salas, Antonio Ayala, Manuel Ayala, Jr., Nicolas de Castro, Jr., Manuel Moreno de Mendoza, Pedro Manrique, Jr., Francisco Mellid, and Rafael Mauleon, Caracas, July 1, 1789, AGI CAR 113; and Guillelmi to Antonio Valdés, Caracas, October 18, 1789, ibid.

<sup>95</sup>Recommendations for Promotion of Juan de Casas, Caracas, May 31, 1805, AGI CAR 105.

<sup>96</sup>Recommendations for Promotion of Matías Letamendi, Caracas, April 12, 1808, AGI CAR 107.

<sup>97</sup>Unzaga to Gálvez, Caracas, June 14, 1778, and December 24, 1778, AGI CAR 84.

<sup>98</sup>Memorial of Miguel Martínez, Valencia, May 31, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

<sup>99</sup>Memorial of Ramón García de Sena, Pueblo de la Victoria, January 4, 1805, AGI CAR 414.

<sup>100</sup>See Appendix V.

<sup>101</sup>Memorial of Jaime Moreno, Maracaibo, April 1, 1801, AGI CAR 99; and Memorial of Jaime Moreno, La Victoria, January 27, 1802, AGI CAR 100.

<sup>102</sup>José Solano to Arriaga, Caracas, August 9, 1764, AGI CAR 866; Service Record of Manuel Aponte, Caracas, December 1774, AGI CAR 850; and "Relación de los oficiales militares . . . han fallecido desde (1761 to 1793)," Caracas, February 20, 1794, AGI CAR 484.

<sup>103</sup>Mateo Gual to Arriaga, La Guaira, January 11, 1772, AGI CAR 867; Service Record of Mateo Gual, Caracas, August 12, 1776, AGI CAR 868; and "Relacion de los oficiales militares . . .," Caracas, February 20, 1794, AGI CAR 484.

104 Another example was Joaquín de Pineda, who ended his career as a captain after 41 years of service. He was the son of a Lieutenant Colonel Miguel de Pineda, and the nephew of Colonel Juan de Pineda, who served as governor of Sonora from 1763 to 1770. Memorial of José de Pineda (sOn), Caracas, December 1, 1775, AGI CAR 83; Service Record of Joachin Pineda, Caracas, December 1780, AGI CAR 843; and "Relacion de los oficiales militares . . .," Caracas, February 20, 1794, AGI CAR 484.

105 Commission of Francisco de Arce, San Ildefonso, September 2, 1778, AGI CAR 843. Colonel Arce had been the commandante of the Caracas Battalion since its reform in 1768 earning the same salary.

106 Montepío Account Records, Puerto Cabello, 1784, AGI CAR 480, shows the salary increase from July 1, 1784; and Manuel González and Francisco de Saavedra to Gálvez. October 20, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

107 Memorial of Antonio Montana. Cumaná, October 8, 1806, AGI CAR 848; Commission of José Linares, Madrid, January 12, 1775, AGI CAR 844; and Commission of Salvador Muñoz, El Palacio, March 31, 1784, AGI CAR 845.

108 Montepío Account Records (1784), Cumaná, March 14, 1785, AGI CAR 479; Memorial of Juana Soriano, Caracas, June 25, 1784, AGI CAR 872; and "Relacion de los oficiales militares de sueldo continuo que estando en servicio, o destinados en esta Provincia han fallecido desde 1 de mayo de 1761 en que se establecio el Monte Pio Militar, hasta fin de Diciembre de 1793, con expression de los grados que obtienan y sueldos que gozaban el tiempo del fallecimiento," Caracas, February 20, 1794, AGI CAR 484.

109 Limonta, Libro de Razón, p. 289.

110 Regulations of the Caracas Battalion, Madrid, July 6, 1768, AGI CAR 847.

111 Luis de Unzaga to Gálvez, Caracas, January 31, 1781, AGI CAR 881; Regulations of the Cumaná garrison, Madrid, July 8, 1779, AGI CAR 847; Montepío Account Records, Guayana, January 1782, AGI CAR 476; and Review of Troops, Margarita, January 31, 1792, AGI CAR 485.

112 See Montepío Account Records, Guayana, 1801, AGI CAR 139.

113 Saavedra to Gálvez, Caracas, July 21, 1784, AGI CAR 476.

114. "Reglamento para el estado mayor y tropa veterana de la Isla de Trinidad de Barlovento, San Lorenzo," November 6, 1786, AGI CAR 885; Montepío Account Records, Guayana, 1801, AGI CAR 139; José Antonio Caballero to Miguel Cayetano Soler, San Ildefonso, August 20, 1804, AGI CAR 846; and Consejo de Regencia to Indendent (Caracas), Isla de León, November 29, 1810, AGI CAR 846.

115. "Mapa que demuestra el Reglamento establecido desde el año de 1722 por el Exmo. Señor D. Jorge de Villalonga, que aprovo S.M. para el pagamento de las tres Companias de Dotacion de esta Provincia," in Francisco Moreno de Mendoza to Julian de Arriaga, Maracaibo, October 4, 1759, AGI CAR 862; and "Reglamento . . . para el regimen, y gobierno de las tres Companias de Infanteria de la dotacion de Maracaibo," Madrid, October 6, 1758, AGI CAR 862.

116. Reglamento de la fundación y establecimiento del Monte de Piedad (Madrid: Gabriel Ramirez, 1761); and Suárez, Instituciones, p. 489.

117. See for example: Montepío Account Records, Maracaibo, June 30, 1788, AGI CAR 111.

118. Guillelmi to Alange, Caracas, Febraury 23, 1791, AGI CAR 93.

119. Antonio de Álcala to Arriaga, Cumaná, September 20, 1759, AGI CAR 862.

120. Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, July 3, 1756, AGI CAR 864.

121. The case can be followed in the Memorial of Francisco de Lizarzabal, Havana, October 30, 1734, AGI audiencia de Santo Domingo 663; Petition of Ignacio de Lizarzabal, Maracaibo, October 4, 1757, AGI CAR 862; and Rafael Alcalde to Conde de Lerna, Caracas, June 23, 1791, AGI CAR 484.

122. Memorial of Josefa Margarita Rengel, Cumaná, n.d. (1784), AGI CAR 882.

123. Suárez, Instituciones, p. 160.

124. Memorial of Francisco Figuera, Fernando Arismendi, Diego Gordon, Matias Vellorin, Juan Antonio Martínez, Felix Lovaton, and Joaquín de la Torre, Cumaná, October 30, 1804, AGI CAR 414.

125 González and Saavedra to Gálvez, Caracas, October 25, 1783, AGI CAR 86.

126 Memorial of José de Vargas and Francisco de Vargas, Valencia, September 1, 1770, AGI CAR 867; and González to Gálvez, Caracas, February 8, 1785, AGI CAR 874.

127 Commission of Diego José Robles, Aranjuez, May 17, 1740, AGI CAR 844.

128 José Carlos de Agüero to Gálvez, Caracas, October 10, 1776, AGI CAR 868.

129 Francisco Machado to Gálvez, Madrid, December 29, 1777, AGI CAR 880.

130 Ibid.; and Abalos to Gálvez, Caracas, February 18, 1783, AGI CAR 476.

131 Guillelmi to Antonio Valdés, Caracas, March 13, 1790, AGI CAR 116.

132 Francisco DePons, Travels in Parts of South America, during the Years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804 (London: J.G. Bernard, 1806), p. 70.

133 José Sucre Reyes, La capitanía general de Venezuela (Barcelona: Editorial E.M., 1969), p. 139.

134 Guillelmi to Valdés, March 13, 1790, AGI CAR 116.

135 Memorial of Carlos Sucre, Cumaná, July 8, 1750, AGI CAR 874.

136 Unzaga to Gálvez, Caracas, May 14, 1779, AGI CAR 85.

137 Geuvara to Manuel de Godoy, Caracas, October 1, 1805, AGI CAR 848.

138 "Nota del vestuario," Caracas, October, 31, 1781, AGI CAR 850.

139 González to Gálvez, Caracas, July 30, 1785, AGI CAR 873.

140 Gillelmi to Valdés, Caracas, October 18, 1789, AGI CAR 113.

141 Memorial of Josefa Moreno et al., Valencia, May 15, 1791, AGI CAR 93.

142 In 1790 Captain General Guillelmi, a colonel in the army, reported that captains spent only one or two hours per week on military duties. Guillelmi to Valdés, Caracas, March 30, 1790, AGI CAR 116.

143 Felipe Remírez to Arriaga, Caracas, May 18, 1761.

144 "Primera Pieza de Autos de la Visita General," Cumaná, 1761, AGI CAR 201.

145 Informe of Francesco de Saavedra, Caracas, April 15, 1785, AGI CAR 87.

146 Mercedes Alvarez F., Temas para la historia comercio colonial (Caracas: Tipográfica Vargas, 1966), pp. 62-68.

147 González to Gálvez, Caracas, January 22, 1783, AGI CAR 86.

148 Memorial of Juan Antonio Heredia, Sebastián de Espinosa Francisco de Sucre, Martín Coronado, Juan de Flores, Pedro Sánchez, Pedro Flores, and Domingo Urbaneja, Cumaná, May 1800, AGI CAR 96.

149 Informe of Juan Manuel de Cagigal, Caracas, June 19, 1800, AGI CAR 96.

#### CHAPTER IV MARRIAGE, KINSHIP, AND WIVES' ROLES

Most officers who served in Venezuela married during their tours of duty. The resulting kinship patterns, especially those of subalterns, during the eighteenth century became increasingly important because the army was unable to maintain corporate unity. The officer's familiar ties replaced the military as the key element in defining his socioeconomic status vis-a-vis the rest of society. Army officers were waging a losing battle to maintain their decency as poor nobles and married into families of similar circumstances. As a small segment of the middle sector, their consanguineous networks were a prism through which a larger part of the wide spectrum of colonial society can be examined.

The policy of the crown was crucial in shaping officer kinship patterns. In the early eighteenth century, when Philip V reformed his army, he intended that officers be selected from the nobility and therefore not have to depend on their meager salaries to maintain themselves. To insure that families were not a burden to the officers or the crown in case of death, the king limited possible spouses to those able to provide for themselves by bringing

a dowry to the marriage. Royal authorities also discouraged subalterns from marrying so that they could dedicate their early careers to military training. But by the 1750s three major complications had arisen: (1) slow promotion meant few officers could wait until they were captains to marry; (2) while a widow might be able to support herself on her dowry, the children suffered if the officer died; and (3) since nothing could be gained by sticking to the regulations and they were not enforced effectively, the royal orders were ignored.

In the 1760s Charles III and his ministers instituted new marriage statutes and provided for their enforcement. From the institution of the Widow and Orphan Pension Plan (Montepío militar) in 1761 an officer was required to contribute a portion of his salary to provide for his family in case of his death. The pay of all regular officers was subject to deductions whether they were married or not. Consequently, when they chose spouses they were certain to obtain royal approval in order to assure their entitlement to a pension. From that decade on the crown effectively controlled the marriages of its officers, familiar relationships, conditions of marriage, and the property rights of both the officers and their wives.



Regulations Concerning Marriage

In 1632 Spain became the first modern European state to regulate the marriages of its soldiers. By royal decrees of that year, which were re-issued in 1701 and 1728, all members of the Spanish army, including enlisted men, were required to obtain royal permission prior to espousal. Officers above the rank of lieutenant were to have a written license from the crown, while those below required authorization from their commanding general.<sup>1</sup>

The crown justified its actions on military and economic grounds. Early national armies were designed to function apart from society, almost as a caste. Commanders believed that soldiers who had few ties to ordinary citizens were more likely to participate in a distant battle enthusiastically than those with familial and agricultural obligations. Nevertheless, some unions were inevitable and it was essential they were supervised by army authorities.

Royal control over matrimony was also justified on economic grounds. Salaries were insufficient to maintain a household, particularly when the soldier was on campaign. The absence of adequate compensations was especially crucial to officers. If they married it would be more difficult for them to sustain their status as a member of the lower nobility. In addition, owing to the possibility

of death or serious injury while in service, the king and his advisers believed they had an obligation to provide for families of the dead and wounded.<sup>2</sup> The royal treasury was unable to assume such costs during the seventeenth century. To maintain caste solidarity and meet economic imperatives, the crown exerted its will in two ways: first, by discouraging all marriage unions, and, second, by determining whom a soldier could marry.

These aims were codified in the Ordenanza de Casamientos of October 20, 1760, that defined in general terms the social groups from which an officer could select a wife. To obtain a royal license the intended had to have a social status equal to that of the officer. Special stipulations applied to lieutenants and second lieutenants because the crown wanted to discourage an officer from marrying at the beginning of his career. As a general rule all subalterns were forbidden to request a royal license, ". . . unless they (had) sufficient income, aside from their limited salary, to sustain their new marital obligation . . . and then only if she was the daughter of an officer."<sup>3</sup> If she were not then she had to prove she had personal income equal to the salary of her subaltern husband. Compliance was assured by the stipulation that if the officer married without permission or his commander allowed the illegal union to take place, then both would be discharged from the service without benefits.<sup>4</sup>

Further regulations were included in the Reglamento del Montepío Militar of April 20, 1761, which detailed the operation of the Widow and Orphan Pension Plan. The stipulations of Article IV required that women who chose to marry officers must have a dowry of 1,000 pesos if they were of noble or hidalgo birth, or 2,500 pesos if they were not. There was, however, one important exception: daughters of military officers were exempt from the dowry stipulations if they married an officer ranked captain or above.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, a much larger percentage of field grade officers married daughters of military men than did subalterns. By an order dated September 29, 1761, the crown ordered army authorities in the Indies to apply the marriage provisions of the Montepío Regulations to the officers under their commands.<sup>6</sup>

While the basic stipulations of the 1760 Ordenanzas and the 1761 Reglamento remained in effect for fifty years, authorities in Spain issued several interpretive decrees. The most significant for officers in Venezuela was that of June 30, 1789, which elucidated the stipulations of the Reglamento pertaining to the marriages of subalterns. In this decree the crown required that all women wishing to marry lieutenants and second lieutenants, including the daughters of officers, provide a dowry of 3,000 pesos.<sup>7</sup> A July 1803 edict reiterated that an officer was compelled to obtain his father's permission until he reached the age

of twenty-five, while a woman attained the age of consent at twenty-three.<sup>8</sup> In case there were any doubts whether an officer could marry a pardo or black, they were dispelled by an 1805 decree which forbade such unions.<sup>9</sup>

The repeated hostilities from 1779 onward caused metropolitan authorities to allow viceroys and captains general in the Indies to issue marriage permits during wartime. From November 1781 to February 1783 Captain General Manuel González approved licenses in Venezuela, which were confirmed by the crown after the peace treaty with Britain in 1786.<sup>10</sup> In 1793 this prerogative was extended during the war with France. Finally, owing to the continued state of war the crown made the stipulation permanent in 1798.<sup>11</sup>

#### Application

After deciding to marry the officer had to follow a strict procedure to obtain royal sanction. Prior to the issuance of the Montepío Regulations in 1761 the application procedure to obtain a marriage license was simple. It consisted of a one paragraph statement in which the officer provided his name, rank, duty station, the name of his intended, and a general reference to her social derivation. In 1752 Lieutenant Eusebio de Dios, who arrived in Venezuela three years before to assist in

containing the León Rebellion, asked permission to marry Ana Antonia Montasterios, ". . . a member of one of the principal families of this country, and a descendant of peninsular Spaniards." In addition she had sufficient income, ". . . to maintain herself in decency corresponding to her social derivation and breeding, without relying on the salary of the applicant in case of [his] departure on [military duties]." The date of the application was March 1752; it was approved by the Marqués de Ensenada in July; and Governor Felipe Ricardos reported receipt of the license in October.<sup>12</sup> The entire process took less than eight months.

Officers wishing to obtain a royal license after the 1761 Reglamento were required to present a far more detailed application, although the approval process remained relatively short. In Venezuela all applications contained five documents: the captain general's approval that served as a cover letter; the officer's memorial giving the name of the woman he intended to marry and his rank and position; the approbation of the local commander; a copy of the woman's baptismal record signed by the local parish priest; and his service record. If a dowry were required the record of its stipulations and evidence, signed by a local treasury official, were included. The documents were then shipped to authorities in Madrid.<sup>13</sup>

The application of Second Lieutenant Pedro de Roo of the Caracas Battalion to marry Ana Monteverde of La Guaira was typical of those officers who had proposed to the daughter of a civilian. Two preliminary letters included the approval of Governor Juan Carlos de Agüero and Colonel Francisco Arce. Roo was born in 1728 in the Canary Islands, entered the army as a cadet in 1756 in Caracas, and at the time of application in 1774 was a forty-seven year old second lieutenant. Documents on hand in La Guaira detailed the legitimacy and legal status of Ana's parents. Cristóbal de Monteverde and Bernadiva Alvarez del Priego, that is, ". . . la genealogía, nobleza, hidalguía y limpieza de sangre de sus asendientes por ambos lados." Although the future father-in-law was born in the Canary Islands and his wife proved her "nobility" from depositions taken in Mexico, local officials did not confirm their legitimacy. The local parish priest copied the baptismal record of Roo's intended, in which were recorded her birthdate, her date and place of baptism, and the names of her parents and godparents. The final section detailed the dowry agreement to set aside 2,500 pesos in cash. On July 23, 1774, Roo forwarded the memorial to the captain general who in turn dispatched it to Madrid. Five months later crown officials approved the marriage, and in April of the next year Captain General Agüero

received the license. The entire process took less than nine months.<sup>14</sup>

A careful study of the application and approval process reveals that if an officer wanted to marry he did so, and with royal approval. Furthermore, the period between application and approval did not increase significantly due to the added documentation required after 1761.<sup>15</sup> The process functioned smoothly and the officer could expect a delay of no more than eight to ten months from the time of application until the formal approval reached Venezuela.<sup>16</sup>

Approval could be slowed because of delays in the collection of documents or an unfavorable report by the commander, but only in rare cases. Since the local adjudant had an officer's service record, and because nearly all officers married criollas, the documents and essential information were readily accessible. In the extremely infrequent case that an officer wished to marry a woman born in Spain, obtaining the baptismal record could cause a delay if her father were a civilian; perhaps as much as a year. If her father were an officer, however, then he provided the natal information because her social status was proven by his membership in the officer corps and therefore did not have to be confirmed by a priest.

A commander could delay the application if he had doubts about the social derivation of the woman. In that case the metropolitan authorities would order the local army command to make further inquiries upon which they would make a final decision. In 1756 Second Lieutenant Antonio Negrete asked for royal sanction for his marriage to Margarita Gutiérrez de Acosta y Ponte, the daughter of Rafael Gutiérrez and Isabel Acosta y Ponte of Caracas. Governor Felipe Ricardos had doubts about her social background and the war office in Spain ordered him to inquire further. The report of Colonel Antonio Guill maintained that the woman was, ". . . of a social derivation far from that allowed by the King," and that the crown should deny the application because officers like Negrete who are stationed in remote outposts, ". . . are liable to make marriages unworthy of their positions." In spite of these objections the crown issued the license.<sup>17</sup> No examples were found of the crown denying approval for any officer making an application.

If an officer did not adhere strictly to the regulations he could be punished by expulsion from the service or even imprisonment. Both penalties were inflicted on an officer who married illegally in La Guaira. In 1787 Adjutant José Lucas de la Concha promised to marry Manuela Josefa Ponce, the daughter of Lieutenant Manuel Ponce. Instead of honoring his vow to Manuel, Concha clandestinely



married María Negrete, also the daughter of an army officer. Claiming insult to its honor and the army, the Ponce family demanded legal satisfaction. After an army inquiry Concha was sentenced to, and served, six years in the presidio in Puerto Rico.<sup>18</sup>

Rarely did the officer or his betrothed change their minds between the time of application and approval by royal authorities. The license was an approbation of an already existing legal agreement, which in Spanish law was as important as the marriage itself. If the officer changed his mind after submitting the application there was nothing he could legally do to stop the marriage, but if the woman changed hers, she or her parents could halt the proceedings. During December 1757 Second Lieutenant Francisco Antonio Cañaveral requested permission to marry María Manuela Curbelo, the daughter of Sebastián Curbelo and María Josefa de Irieta and sister-in-law of Mateo Gual. The crown approved the request in October of the next year, but by that time María's widowed mother had changed her mind, so the marriage did not take place. Another example was that of Second Lieutenant Juan Antonio Pelaez who requested royal sanction for his marriage to María de Isaguirre in June 1758. The application was approved in October, but by then her parents were against the marriage and the captain general voided the permission.<sup>19</sup>

The case of Captain José Pavía of the Caracas Battalion combined favoritism by the captain general toward the bride and desertion by the officer to avoid marriage. In early 1788 Pavía promised to marry Rita Rivera, the daughter of Oidor José Patrício de Rivera. In August Oidor Rivera died in Caracas leaving thirteen orphan children because his wife had passed away earlier in the year. While at the funeral Señorita Rivera approached Captain General Juan Guillelmi to complain that Captain Pavía had broken his promise to marry her and intended to take a woman in Puerto Cabello as his wife instead. "To protect the honor of Rivera," the captain general arrested Pavía and forced him to apply to the authorities in Spain for a license and for Rivera to deposit a dowry. The officer was then released with orders not to return to Puerto Cabello.

Upon his release Captain Pavía did everything in his power to avoid the marriage arranged by the captain general. Instead of following the conditions of his release, he deserted his post, went to Puerto Cabello and from there fled to Havana. The Consejo de Guerra in June 1789 ordered an investigation of the case and one year later ordered Pavía to marry Rivera in Havana and return to Caracas, which he did the following year.<sup>20</sup>

An officer who lived with a woman out of wedlock could be forced to marry. Beginning when he was a cadet

in the 1770s Jaime Moreno cohabited in Maracaibo with Barbara Sánchez. In 1785 he received permission to travel to Spain to settle financial obligations in Ronda where his father, Brigadier Francisco Javier Moreno de Mendoza, had recently retired. Prior to his departure Barbara's mother obtained the assistance of the bishop in Mérida and petitioned successfully to have Moreno arrested for deserting her daughter. She charged that he intended to break his vow to Barbara and marry the daughter of the governor, Salvador Muñoz. Favoring his daughter, Muñoz refused to arrest Moreno claiming that the ecclesiastical authorities had no jurisdiction over an officer entitled to the fuero militar. It made no difference. In September 1796, after a decade of protest and petitions, the Consejo de Guerra ordered Moreno to marry Sánchez, which he did the following year.<sup>21</sup>

#### Dowries

The regulations concerning dowries--which were required to be 1,000 pesos for nobles and 2,500 pesos for everyone else--divided both officers and wives into two groups. The former were either subalterns or held the rank of captain or above. Women were classified as to those who were daughters of military officers and those who were not. There were, therefore, four possible combinations: (1) a captain or above married an officer's daughter, or

(2) he married the daughter of a civilian; (3) a subaltern chose a woman from a military family, or (4) he did not. The intended's dowry requirements were, respectively: (1) none required; (2) a dowry required; (3) the officer had to prove he had 3,000 pesos in property, and woman had to bring a dowry to the marriage; and (4) in addition to a dowry, she had to have an income equal to the subaltern's salary. Officers did not marry the daughters of enlisted men.

The application of these stipulations in Venezuela raised one important question regarding the marriages of second lieutenants and lieutenants. Was the amount of the dowry to be 2,500 pesos as called for in the 1761 Reglamento or the 3,000 pesos which was the property requirement listed in the 1760 Ordenanzas? After thirty years of indecision the crown ruled in 1789 that anyone wishing to marry a subaltern had to bring 3,000 pesos to the marriage.<sup>22</sup>

The dowry carried to the marriage remained legally the woman's, but in practice was often administered by the officer. This served to protect the woman while allowing him to use the capital in order to improve his financial position. Nevertheless the officer had to return the dowry's value to his wife's estate upon her death if she died before him or provide that amount for her in his will.<sup>23</sup>

While the dowry sample is admittedly small because most applications did not detail the intended's property, the record of dowries of women who married army officers in Venezuela reveals that the largest share consisted of cash and real estate. In 1772 Second Lieutenant Juan Burguillos of the Caracas Battalion married Josefa Serrano, whose dowry consisted of 1,000 pesos in cash and a house valued at 2,500 pesos.<sup>24</sup> At the end of the century Lieutenant Fabián de Salinas of the Maracaibo force married Antonia de Miranda. Her 3,000 pesos dowry included a limestone house valued at 2,119 pesos, two domestic zamba slaves worth 400 pesos, and the remainder in jewelry, including a silver watch valued at 50 pesos.<sup>25</sup>

If the bride's father had insufficient property to provide the dowry himself, assets could be pledged by a member of her family or an interested outsider. In September 1790 Second Lieutenant Félix Carrasquero of Maracaibo requested a license for his marriage to Juana María Troconis. As her father was unable to raise the dowry, her uncle, Juan Antonio Troconis, deposited 3,000 pesos in her name. He also supplied the dowry for another niece, María Isabel Troconis, who married Second Lieutenant Andrés Piñate. The uncle's net worth was reported to be more than 200,000 pesos, consisting of several cacao haciendas, a sugar mill, houses, slaves, and jewels.<sup>26</sup>

Innovative financing was possible if the father had neither the assets nor family willing to supply the dowry. A case in Guayana involved a father, a friend with a house worth 4,019 pesos, and a wealthy widow. In 1806 María Bonifacia Rodríguez agreed to marry Lieutenant Francisco Orozco. Her father did not have 3,000 pesos, nor did any of his family. A friend, however, was willing to pledge his house as collateral if the father could find someone with 3,000 pesos cash. A wealthy widow agreed to put up the money, which the friend then loaned to the father at five percent annual interest.<sup>27</sup>

While the overwhelming majority of the dowries was the amount stipulated in the Montepío Regulations, it could be higher. In December 1783 María Merced Suárez de Urbina married Captain José Patiño, the son of the Duques de Patiño and Senores de Faroi. The woman was the daughter of Licendiado Juan José Suárez de Urbina and Petronila Monserrate of the Caracas elite. The dowry, 14,000 pesos, consisting of 2,000 pesos cash and property in Petare, was the largest paid to marry an army officer in late colonial Venezuela.<sup>28</sup>

One example was found of a local commander questioning the true value of property assigned to a dowry. In 1788 Lieutenant José María Fernández of the Caracas Battalion asked permission to marry Rosa Miranda, the daughter of Sebastián Miranda and sister of the "Great Precursor,"

Francisco Miranda. Because her father was a civilian (although a militia officer) and not of noble birth, his daughter's dowry had to be 2,500 pesos. To satisfy the requirement Miranda pledged a house in the pueblo of Maiquetía, near La Guaira. The commander of the Caracas Battalion, Colonel Pedro Nava, questioned whether or not the house was worth 2,500 pesos. Captain General Juan Guillelmi asked for the opinion of Oidor Francisco Ignacio Cortines, who agreed with the commander.<sup>29</sup> A dowry was paid eventually for Miranda by Luisa Padrón, a friend.<sup>30</sup>

Some officers had difficulty obtaining the dowries after the death of their fathers-in-law. In two cases wives of officers posted to militia instruction in the Valles de Aragua near Caracas were denied their dowries. In 1785 Adjutant Manuel Aldao wrote the Consejo de Guerra protesting his wife's treatment by the corregidor in Turmero. In his petition Aldao maintained that when his mother-in-law, Magdalena Sánchez, died, her husband, Gerónimo Lovera, refused to divide his goods--including the dowry--among the children as the law required. The captain general and his chief legal officer for army matters, the auditor de guerra, sided with the father-in-law. To complicate matters Lovera immediately remarried. The Consejo de Guerra, taking the part of the adjutant, ordered the division of goods, which overturned the captain general's order.<sup>31</sup> Adjutant Manuel Beamud was not so

fortunate. For ten years he petitioned to obtain his wife's dowry after the death of her mother, but was blocked by corregidor. In 1808 he and his daughters for the last time pleaded for relief, but were unsuccessful.<sup>32</sup>

### Kinship Patterns

Command decisions regarding the posting of officers to the Indies and the Montepío Regulations limited potential spouses to a small minority of the Venezuelan population and an even smaller percentage of peninsulars. Royal policy favored single men for service in America which resulted in less than nine percent (28 of 319) of the officers born in Europe being married when they transferred to Venezuela. Of the remaining 457 officers (289 Europeans and 168 Americans) nearly one-third did not marry while on duty in the captaincy general, thirteen percent arrived after 1800 when Spain was at war and marital records were incomplete, and the civil status of five percent could not be determined.<sup>33</sup>

Half of the officers (242 of 485) who definitely married while serving in Venezuela could select from only a fraction of the population. Restrictions that women be of a social derivation equal to the officers' eliminated the eighty percent classified as pardo, black, and Indian. Of the 185,000 people categorized white in Venezuela in



in 1800, approximately twenty-eight percent were children under the age of seven, and roughly one-half of the remainder were males.<sup>34</sup> This left a maximum of 66,000 women from whom officers could choose a spouse, although many of these were no doubt between seven and fourteen years of age or over thirty-five. The available white female population was reduced further and probably substantially by regulations which required they either be daughters of military officers or be able to bring a dowry of from 2,500 to 3,000 pesos to the marriage. Nevertheless, there were certainly more eligible women than the one hundred and fifty-officers on duty at any one time in the captaincy general.

The crown's social engineering regarding the relationship between regular army officers and women in the colony had two important results: first, field grade officers married daughters of military men of similar status which tended to perpetuate a "high-ranking" military caste; and, second, since there was no advantage for a subaltern to marry an officer's daughter--the overwhelming majority of whom did not have the dowry anyway--they chose criollas from the civilian families who were themselves fighting to maintain their status in the face of Bourbon fiscal imperatives and constant warfare.

An analysis of kinship patterns of regular army officers demonstrated five general characteristics:

(1) officers married women of similar social status irrespective of rank; (2) officers who arrived in Venezuela with field grade rank married daughters of officers with equal or higher rank, and remained loyal to Spain after 1810; (3) officers were six times more likely to marry the daughter of a civilian than one of a fellow officer; (4) a larger percentage of officers married into wealthy families at mid-century or earlier than at the end of the colonial era; and, (5) very few sons of unions between officers and women of elite status served in the regular army, and those who did were active leaders in patriot forces during the wars of independence. Implicit in these characteristics, but outside the scope of this study, was that if an elite daughter married a regular army officer after 1770, it seemed to indicate a loss of status for her family. While early in the century army officers were persons of considerable prestige by the end of the colonial period Venezuelan society perceived them as poor nobles fighting a rearguard action to maintain their status; which was exactly what they were.

Although these general traits were evident throughout the captaincy general, there were regional variations regarding the social systems into which the officers merged. An elite family along the frontier near Guayana could not be considered the equal of the grandes cacaos of Caracas Province. On the other hand, there were many

similarities between the social systems in Maracaibo and Cumaná. The following examples reflect both the general characteristics and the regional variations.

During the last half of the eighteenth century a few officers married into the upper levels of caraqueña society. According to the historian Federico Brito Figueroa the large hacendados were, ". . . dominated by one preoccupation: the purity of blood, that coincided with the economic interests of a privileged social group; these nobles and principales, with familial ties, by kinship or affinity, came to constitute in the last decades of the colonial era, a hermetic and stratified nucleus."<sup>35</sup> Documentary sources make it possible to delineate the families belonging to this group. Five sources were utilized: (1) the list of notables gathered in 1749 in reaction to the León Rebellion; (2) the names of nobles forming the Caracas cavalry militia in 1768; (3) the hacendados named in 1786 upon the founding of the Consulado of Caracas; (4) the list of the nobility of Caracas swearing loyalty to the crown after the exposure of the Gual and España conspiracy in 1797; and (5) the Venezuelans entering the orders of Santiago, Charles III, Calatrava, Alcántara, Malta, and Montesa from 1750 to 1810.<sup>36</sup> The 104 family names were then divided into those listed on two or more documents (36 names) and those which only were listed on one (67 names) in order to differentiate

between those who maintained their status and those who did not or were recent arrivals to privileged status. That is, on one hand, if a family was listed in 1749 and 1797 then it is a reasonable assumption its members maintained their status. On the other hand, if a family was listed only in 1749 or in 1797 then it can be assumed in the first case its members slipped in status or in the second they were recent arrivals to elite standing. To define the relationship of one group to the other, within the context of caraqueña society, the families on more than one list could be called notables and the others principales.

Five officers who landed in Venezuela at mid-century and remained as part of the newly formed Caracas Battalion in 1753 married into the families listed on more than one document, the notables (see Appendix VII). Their names, ranks at marriage, and wives' families were: Colonel Nicolás Castro, Sr. (Pacheco y Mijares de Solorzano, Conde de San Javier); Captain Pedro Manrique (Urbina); Captain José Matos (Monsserrate); Lieutenant Eusebio de Dios (Montasterios); and Second Lieutenant Luis de Urrutia (Blanco y Plaza). There were ten males and fifteen females surviving from these marriages, and of the former, five became regular army officers in the Caracas Battalion. Of these sons only Nicolás Castro, Jr., married a woman of a notable family (Ibarra y Galindo). He was the only regular

army officer to sign the Declaration of Independence, and joined Juan and Pedro Manrique, Jr., as patriot leaders during the wars for independence.<sup>37</sup> Captain Ignacio Matos retired from the army owing to disability. His brother, Manuel, also rose to the rank of captain, became a successful coffee planter, and was implicated in the 1808 conspiracy to overthrow the government.<sup>38</sup>

Only five other officers arriving in Venezuela between 1755 and the end of the century married into notable families, although there were three times as many officers stationed in the province at the end of the century than fifty years before (107 in 1800 to 31 in 1750). They were Lieutenant Juan de Casas (Blanco de Ponte); First Adjutant Evaristo Buroz (Tovar); Second Lieutenant José Castro y Araoz (Jerez Aristeguieta); Lieutenant Joaquín Pérez (Jerez Aristeguieta); and Second Lieutenant Manuel Torres (Aguado). Casas remained on duty in the battalion through the end of the colonial period, rising to the rank of colonel, but his son did not serve in the regular army. Pérez and Torres died childless. After their marriages Castro y Araoz and Buroz petitioned to leave the army and were allowed to do so. The latter maintained his elite status because his daughters married into wealthy families and he owned considerable property, including the most expensive lot (solar) in the city of Caracas. Although his three sons did not serve in the colonial army, they too were anti-royalist after 1810.<sup>39</sup>

Five officers married women included among the principales families of Caracas: Captain Juan Peinado (Landaeta); Lieutenant Salvador Escurpi (Garaban); Captain Diego Bailén (Marinas); Adjutant Manuel Aldao (Lovera); and Captain Francisco Jacot (Matos). Peinado died childless. It could not be determined in Bailén had children, but it so none of them served in the regular army in Venezuela. At the time of his death Escurpi had two sons, neither of whom joined the service. Two of Aldao's did, however, and like Nicolas Castro, Juan Manrique, and Pedro Manrique, battled the Spanish after 1810. Jacot was also a partisan and was executed by the royalists in 1816.<sup>40</sup>

There were two officers who married elite women of La Guaira. Captain Francisco Nanclares arrived in Venezuela in the 1740s and wed Maria Azcárate y Ruíz of a wealthy Basque mercantile family in La Guaira. At the same time of his death in 1764 he had two daughters and a son; the latter did not join the army. Lieutenant Pedro Pellín disembarked in the port city in 1800 and married the daughter of José María España, a hacendado who prior to Pellín's arrival was drawn and quartered for his leadership of a 1797 conspiracy against the crown. In 1810 Pellin changed his loyalties, became an aide to Bolívar, and was executed by loyalists in 1813.<sup>41</sup>

Only three criollo sons of army officers who themselves chose a military career married into the elite of

Caracas. One was the previously mentioned Nicolás Castro, Jr. Another was the son of Brigadier Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza, a member of a clan of army officers from Ronda, who arrived in Venezuela in 1740 after campaigning in Italy. Four years later he married Francisca de Salas whose father was secretary to the governor, a judge in land cases, and a lawyer for the crown and the Guipuzcoana Company.<sup>42</sup> Moreno de Mendoza eventually became the only officer with long service in Venezuela to reach the rank of brigadier. This reward came only after serving as governor of both Margarita Island and Guayana, and ending his career as commander in La Guaira. He was the quintessential "high-ranking military officer" and was the exception to other army officers in terms of income, rank, political power, and social status. One daughter married a governor of Cumaná, Colonel Pedro José de Urrutia. His son, Manuel, served in the Caracas Battalion, attained the rank of lieutenant colonel, and married Isabel Ascanio y Rada, daughter of Santiago Ascanio of a notable family. Manuel's son, Francisco Javier, served in the patriot army.<sup>43</sup>

The third example of a criollo officer stationed in Caracas marrying into an elite family was that of Lieutenant Antonio Pío Ponte who in 1799 wed María de la Merced Ascanio y Rada, the daughter of Nicolás Ascanio. Ponte was born to a poor family in Cumaná whose total property eight years before his birth in 1769 consisted of a small house,

some fallow land in the Ipure Valley, and six slaves. He died prior to 1810. Three of his nephews (Miguel, Fernando, and Francisco Carabaño, Jr.) were officers in patriot armies, although his brother-in-law (Bernando Carabaño, Sr.) remained a loyalist. The fact that both Ponte and Moreno married into branches of the Ascanio y Rada family seemed to indicate a loss in status for the clan.<sup>44</sup>

The vast majority of officers did not marry into one of these 103 elite families because they were of a lower economic status. Most married as subalterns or enlisted men prior to receiving commissions. An example of the first was Second Lieutenant José Burguillos of the Caracas Battalion who in 1772 at the age of forty-six married a fifteen year old daughter of Adjutant José Serrano, an instructor in the white militia. The latter arrived in Venezuela as an ordinary soldier--earning ten pesos monthly--and was commissioned an officer in 1771. After twenty years service he had enough property to provide a dowry of 1,000 pesos in cash and a medium sized house for his daughter. This rise in economic status was extraordinary, and no doubt represented uncommon circumstances. For example, one of the wealthiest men in Venezuela, Martín Tovar y Blanco, served as godfather to Serrano's daughter when he was a sergeant! A more representative case was that of Adjutant Manuel Villapol who while an enlisted man



married a daughter of Sergeant Manuel Roquel. Because he was not yet an officer there was no dowry requirement. Although originally of a lower status he joined Castro, the Manriques, and the Aldaos in the independence struggle and was killed in action serving alongside Bolívar.<sup>45</sup>

In Maracaibo, as in Caracas, both European and criollo officers married women of a social status equal to their own--irrespective of rank--and were well integrated into local white society. In 1783 Captain Agustín Delgado, a Castilian, transferred to serve in Maracaibo after sixteen years in Caracas. Three years later, at age fifty-four, he married Ana Ignacia Iriarte, the daughter of Doctor Felipe de Iriarte. While not wealthy compared to the elite of Caracas, Iriarte had sufficient property to provide a 3,000 pesos dowry for his daughter, and when he died at the turn of the century, owned a large house on the central plaza worth 3,200 pesos. Another of Iriarte's daughters married a criollo regular army officer and his son served as a lieutenant in the local garrison.<sup>46</sup>

The case of Captain Rafael Delgado exemplifies a union with the daughter of an officer and their offspring's integration into local society, which in turn determined their sons' roles in the independence struggle. In 1779, at 38 years of age, Delgado married a fifteen year old daughter of Brigadier Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza, the aforementioned commander in La Guaira. When he died at

the turn of the century he had six daughters and six sons; all of the latter were officers in the regular army. Given its isolated location and lack of strong ties to Caracas, the companies in Maracaibo remained loyal to the crown until 1821. In that year, however, the royalist commander, Delgado's son Francisco, and his brothers switched sides by joining the insurgents. Two of these patriots--or traitors--were killed in action.<sup>47</sup>

Colonel Ramón Correa y Guevara was the exception in Maracaibo similar to the case of Brigadier Moreno de Mendoza in Caracas; he was a "high-ranking military officer." That is, a man who would have had high social status whether he were in the army or not. In both cases their ranks represented their social status, not military prowess. Correa arrived in Venezuela in 1798 with his uncle, Brigadier Manuel de Guevara y Vasconcelos, who had been appointed captain general. Two years later Guevara assigned Correa to command the companies in Maracaibo and by the age of forty he was a full colonel. In 1809 he married the daughter of the governor, Fernando de Miyares. During the struggles against Spain he remained a loyalist, often commanding forces opposed by those of Bolívar.<sup>48</sup>

An officer marrying in Cumaná prior to mid-century could obtain considerable wealth and marry into the local elite. In the late 1730s Second Lieutenant Juan de Dios Valdés, who lived in the presidio at Araya and had no

outside property, married a daughter of Pedro Antonio Arias of Cumaná. His father-in-law owned a home in the city; six slaves; a hacienda consisting of five and one-half fanegas (1 fanega = approximately 1.6 acres) of irrigated land, 3,000 cacao trees, and some buildings; and a ranch with a house and corral, eighty head of cattle, fifty horses, and eight mules. By Cumaná standards Valdés' wife was of upper-middle economic status. After twenty years of marriage and a transfer to Guayana, Valdés, by then a captain, owned eighteen slaves, a sugar plantation, a livestock ranch, and some houses. Although the relationship between his in-law's wealth and his accumulation of property is unclear because there were no dowry requirements prior to 1761, Valdés' accumulation of property was evidence of what could result by marrying at mid-century. He later served as governor of Trinidad Island. Both his sons and grandsons served in the patriot forces after careers as regular army officers.<sup>49</sup>

In Cumaná, as elsewhere in the captaincy general, officers serving in the 1750s were much more likely to marry into an elite family than at the end of the century. Oftentimes this reflected a loss in status for the families of both mates. The wealthiest man in the province in 1761 was Diego Antonio de Alcalá y Guevara, who owned a cacao hacienda in the Curiaco Valley with 12,000 trees, a home in Cumaná, and thirty-four slaves. One of his

daughters, Isabel Antonia, in 1758 married artillery Captain Manuel Sánchez, himself a member of the Cumaná elite. Things changed drastically in one generation regarding the status of the officers who married into the Alcala clan. In 1771 Diego Antonio's granddaughter, Ana María de Alcala Mais, married Second Lieutenant Pedro Márquez de Valenzuela, whose father owned only three slaves and a small banana farm.<sup>50</sup>

The officers posted to Guayana served in an isolated garrison, providing a contrast with the rest of the captaincy general. As the first settlers of this frontier area in the 1750s and 1760s the officers were themselves members of the elite. In 1768 a census was taken of the city (today Ciudad Bolívar) which was founded earlier in the decade when most of the population and the main component of the small army force were moved from the old site at Ciudad Guayana. Given the method of listing the population--name of the head of household, number of people residing with him or her, and slaves--the best method of defining elite status is based on household size and composition. Following the example utilized by Kathleen Waldron in her study of the Caracas population, an elite household is defined as one headed by a white individual entitled don or doña which contains more inhabitants and slaves than does the average urban household of Guayana.<sup>51</sup> As of January 1, 1769, there were 165 families and a total population of 531, of

which 144 were slaves. The average household had 3.2 persons and 0.8 slaves, while the elites had an average household size of 12.0 persons and had 4.7 slaves. Elites made up 12.7 percent of all households, included 47.7 percent of the population, and owned 68 percent of the slaves.<sup>52</sup>

At the time of the census only three of the ten officers stationed in Guayana lived in town, the others residing either in the presidio or downriver in the old fort. They qualified as members of the local elite. One was Lieutenant Félix Farreras who had the largest household (36), the second most slaves (14), the largest amount of land under cultivation (1 acre), and the second largest number of livestock (250 cattle and 14 horses). He married Juana Bonaldes whose family was also of the local elite. The other was Lieutenant Francisco Bobadilla who had the fifth largest household. He had served on the boundary expedition of 1750 to determine the frontier with Brazil and remained garrisoned in Guayana. Bobadilla married a daughter of the highest ranking army officer on Margarita Island. One son of each family served as officers in the regular army, with Matias Farreras acting as patriot commander during the wars for independence.<sup>53</sup>

The other officer listed on the census was Lieutenant Antonio Barreto who was a member of the Caracas elite because his mother belonged to the Urbina clan. In 1783

he married a cousin, Marfa de Jesus Urbina, whose father served as an attorney of the Santo Domingo audiencia and in important posts. Immediately after his marriage he applied for retirement because he then had family obligations and landholdings that he was unable to maintain from distant Guayana. His sister-in-law married another officer serving in Guayana, the son of the Duque de Patiño of Galicia, whose 14,000 pesos dowry was the largest deposited to marry an army officer in the last half of the eighteenth century in Venezuela. It could not be determined if Barreto had children or not, but if he did they did not serve in the regular army in Venezuela. Patiño was survived by a son and a daughter when he died in 1794, but the former did not enter the service.<sup>54</sup>

The marriages of Barreto and Patiño were typical in the sense that their wives' dowries were provided by their parents and their socioeconomic status was linked directly to that of their parents. It was not uncommon, however, for officers to marry widows who had property of their own. In lieu of a dowry agreement an officer ranked captain or above could submit a list of his future wife's property with his application to prove the woman had sufficient wealth to maintain herself without depending on his salary.

Two examples from the mid-1790s indicate similarities in the widow's net worth, the composition of their property,

and the officers they married. The estates of both were between four and five thousand pesos, houses were the largest single item, and married European-born captains roughly their own ages. In 1784 Captain Francisco Albuquerque, from Maracaibo, at the age of thirty-four, petitioned to marry Josefa Antonia Sánchez, a thirty-three year old widow. The total value of her property was 4,006 pesos, consisting of a house worth 2,160 pesos, clothing valued at 376 pesos, 445 pesos worth of household items, three slaves totaling 430 pesos, and 595 pesos in jewelry.<sup>55</sup> Two years later Captain Alejandro Ordoñez of the Cumaná garrison asked for royal approval to marry Rosa Antonia Ramírez de Espinosa. He was forty-five years old and she was thirty-eight. Her goods consisted of a house valued at 3,100 pesos, six slaves worth 1,290 pesos, household items totaling 202 pesos, and 154 pesos in clothing, for a total net worth of 4,746 pesos. One son from each family served as cadets in the regular army, but there is no record of either fighting with the patriots or the royalists during the wars of independence.<sup>56</sup>

#### Privileges and Duties of Officers' Wives

Social mores and membership in a privileged corporation determined prerogatives, obligations, and duties of officer's wives. Certain conditions of marriage, including

the age of consent, segregation from male spheres of business, politics, and religion, and attitudes toward adultery and divorce were the same for all women in colonial Venezuela. Other circumstances, such as the amount of the dowry and the ability to provide for herself and her children in case of her husband's death, were determined by her inclusion in the Widow and Orphan Pension Plan. Spanish law regulated property rights, which were the same for civilians and military wives. "Wives' work," as distinguished from "husbands' work," was also a function of custom, although there were instances when officers' spouses petitioned for royal intervention in their husbands' careers. An analysis of these areas--conditions of marriage, property rights, and work--illustrate both the similarities between these women and the general population and their prerogatives owing to their husbands' status as an army officer.

#### Conditions of Marriage

During an extended residence in Venezuela during the last decade of the colonial era, the Frenchman Francois Depons wrote:

The blind protection afforded by the Spanish laws to females in opposition to their husbands, is another cause of unhappy marriages. No being can be more unfortunate than a Spanish husband, whose wife is jealous, dissolute, or peevish. If



tormented by the first of these passions, she readily finds access to the civil and ecclesiastical authority, who in such cases manifest a disposition implicitly to believe everything that an imagination can suggest against her husband. . . . No proof is required of [her] assertions; she is believed on her word. The husband, in such cases . . . is either cited to appear . . . or he is instantly, and without further inquiry, thrown into prison, where he continues until his liberation is requested by his wife.<sup>57</sup>

While Depons certainly exaggerated, the conditions of marriage allowed women substantial legal rights, and officer's wives were even more fortunate.

The age of consent for women was two years younger than that of men according to the Real Pragmática de Matrimonios of 1776, a declaration of familial law. Men whose fathers were alive had to obtain their permission for marriage until they reached the age of twenty-five, and women twenty-three. In case the father was deceased the decision was left to the mother. If both parents had died the determination fell first to the paternal grandfather and then the maternal grandfather, and in their absence the legal guardians, the age of consent was reduced one year less for both the man and the woman. Thus, if both parents were deceased, the male had to be twenty-three and the female twenty-one.<sup>58</sup>

The most common objection, whether from an officer father or the future father-in-law, concerned social derivation. If the son or daughter were of age, however,

the objections were overruled. In 1768 Lieutenant Colonel Mateo Gual protested to the war office that members of the Alcalá-Marqu  z de Valenzuela clan in Cuman   had kidnapped his daughter, In  s, and forced her to marry Juan Vallenilla, who was of "an inferior social derivation [calidad muy inferior]."59 An investigation revealed she married of her own volition and the authorities refused to intervene. Mart  n Bernardo de Tovar, a Caracas hacendado, protested that First Adjutant Evaristo Buroz, who wished to marry his daughter, was from a lower social derivation, and did everything in his power to halt the marriage. Nevertheless, after the judiciary ruled in the couple's favor, the wedding took place.60

#### Widow and Orphan Pension Plan

The most important distinction between the wives of officers and civilians regarding conditions of marriage was officer wives' entitlement to benefits of the Widow and Orphan Pension Plan (Montep  o Militar). In 1761 the Spanish government established the program for the widows and children of military officers, ". . . in order that they could maintain themselves with decency."61 Prior to that year the survivors of an officer received the equivalent of two months salary from funds set aside from church receipts. The Montep  o bureaucracy began operation in May 1761 on

peninsula, on Mallorca, and in the African presidios. The order for its adoption in the Indies arrived in Venezuela three years later.<sup>62</sup>

The Reglamento de la Fundación y Establecimiento del Monte de Piedad (1761) detailed the function, administration, and regulation of the plan. The pensions were provided specifically to allow the widows the opportunity to provide for themselves after the deaths of their husbands, and to allow surviving children the chance to obtain an education.<sup>63</sup> Application of the provisions of the Reglamento was the responsibility of a junta in Madrid, composed of a director, two governors, an accountant, a treasurer, and several clerks. The director also sat on the Consejo Supremo de la Guerra, the supervisory body for the Montepío junta. All business relating to the pension plan required approval of the Madrid authorities. "Obedezco pero no cumplo" did not apply to the plan's activities in Venezuela.<sup>64</sup>

The officer's widow and legitimate children were eligible to collect a monthly stipend according to his rank at death, provided they met the requirements. The annual pensions were set for families of officers serving in the Indies in 1773 and are listed in Table 4:1. The pension was the same no matter how large the family. If the officer left neither wife nor children his mother could collect the stipend if she were a widow. Montepío payments varied for field-grade officers serving as administrators or in staff

Table 4:1. Annual Pensions Awarded to Widow, Orphans, and Mothers of Army Officers in the Indies.

Rank of Husband, Father, or Son	Annual Pension in <u>Pesos</u>
Capitanes Generales de Ejercito <sup>a</sup>	1,125
Tenientes Generales	750
Mariscales de Campo	625
Brigadieres y Coroneles	500
Tenientes Coroneles	375
Comandantes de Batallones	356
Sargentos Mayores de Regimientos	319
Capitanes	188
Aydantes	169
Tenientes	120
Subtenientes	94

Source: "Tarifa que señala las pensiones con que se asistirá en America a las Familias de los Individuos comprendidos en los beneficios del Monte-Pío Militar," Aranjuez, June 17, 1773, AGI CAR 7.

<sup>a</sup>Captain generals of the Army held a rank equivalent to field marshal and should not be confused with the captains general of the provinces in Spain or the captaincies general in the Indies. The latter were political appointments filled in Spain by major or lieutenant generals and in Venezuela by colonels or brigadiers.

functions, but usually were fixed at one-fourth to one-third the salary he earned the month before he died.<sup>65</sup>

Widows with children had the obligation to care for them and insure they took advantage of available educational opportunities. The regulations favored the daughters because they were provided for until they married or entered a convent, no matter their ages. Sons, on the other hand, were on their own after reaching their eighteenth birthday, married or not. If the widow died or remarried, the pension was assigned to a guardian who saw that the children were provided for properly. A mother eligible for both her husband's and son's benefits could collect only one, although she could choose whichever was higher.<sup>66</sup>

In order to receive the pension the widow had to apply according to very strict guidelines set out in the Reglamento. Failure to comply meant denial or lengthy delays. Immediately after her husband's death the widow submitted a memorial to the junta in Madrid through the captain general in Caracas or the local governor. A copy of the officer's last promotion papers and certification from local treasury officials confirming the deceased's pay rate had to accompany the petition. To prove she was his legitimate wife she had to submit her marriage certificate and a confirmation from the chaplain. If there were

children the widow had to include copies of their baptismal records.<sup>67</sup>

The final section of the Reglamento detailed the conditions which must be met in order for an officer to wed with royal permission.<sup>68</sup> As observed earlier any officer who wanted to could, although the crown encouraged men to wait until they had attained the rank of captain. If he did marry while a lieutenant or sub-lieutenant his family was not entitled to Montepío benefits. But this proviso stopped few, because widows and orphans of ineligible officers were provided for from church funds. Families of officers who married prior to 1761 and those killed during wartime were also eligible.<sup>69</sup>

From the date of the establishment of the plan to the end of the colonial era the crown revised the regulations as problems arose, but did not alter its basic provisions or structure as they applied to the conditions of marriage. Compliance in Venezuela dates from 1773 when deductions and pension payments began retroactive to May 1, 1761, for the officers and widows of the Caracas Battalion. When the crown issued new regulations in 1790 and 1796 they did not alter existing practice in the captaincy general.<sup>70</sup>

An examination of the Montepío records indicates that the authorities in Spain followed the regulations to the letter. Administration of the plan was an example

of the central authorities in Spain ruling and their representatives in the Indies acting. The structure was neither weak nor ambiguous. Not only did the crown insure payment of the pensions, but in many cases awarded families additional benefits above the minimum required by the regulations.

Lieutenant Colonel Manuel de Agreda died on February 7, 1776, while serving as commander of Puerto Cabello, at a salary of 2,000 pesos per year. After submitting the necessary paperwork, his widow, Juana Josefa Bese y Ruvilla, began receiving a pension of 500 pesos for herself and seven daughters. As a lieutenant colonel his family's pension would have been 375 pesos, but since he held an administrative post at the time of his death the amount was one-fourth of this salary. After his wife's demise the pension continued at the same rate because at least one of the daughters had not yet married or taken religious vows.<sup>71</sup>

Pension payments to the widow and children of Manuel Ayala illustrate the generosity of the Montepío. Ayala, a native of Simancas, arrived in Venezuela with Julián de Arriaga's force in 1749. Seven years later he asked permission to marry Juana Soriano, an orphaned daughter of Juan Francisco Soriano, former Contador Mayor del Tribunal de Cuentas in Caracas, and Margarita Pérez González, the daughter of an army officer. They married in Caracas on June 6, 1765, after he had fought against the British and

returned from Spain. Ayala held the rank of lieutenant colonel when he died at sixty years of age on September 3, 1783, leaving a widow and fourteen children, all but two of whom were minors.

Soriano and the children immediately began receiving a pension of 400 pesos a year, a third of his active duty salary. As a special dispensation the crown allowed two of the minor sons, Mauricio, age ten, and Ramón, age nine, to enter the army as cadets although they were under age. This special approbation brought to four the number of the lieutenant colonel's sons in the army, doubling the family's income.<sup>72</sup>

#### Other Entitlements

If a widow was ineligible for Montepío benefits the crown usually awarded her a pension from the "Ramo de vacantes mayores y menores," the income of the emoluments of bishops, canons, and priests whose posts were vacant. In 1737 the crown assigned these funds to the treasury to assist missionaries and widows of government employees who lacked a pension.<sup>73</sup> Captain Juan Burguillos died in September 1788 after forty-five years of service, but since he married prior to attaining the rank of captain his widow and children were not entitled to Montepío benefits. Nevertheless, the crown awarded her and the six minor



children 200 pesos a year from the "Ramo de vacantes mayores y menores." The amount was more than the 188 pesos they would have received if they had been eligible for the Montepío plan.<sup>74</sup>

As in the case of officers who married before attaining the rank of captain, those taking wives after sixty years of age left their families ineligible for Montepío benefits. However, the crown did order a monthly stipend from church fees for his survivors. In 1784 Captain Gregorio Ponce, age seventy-eight, married Isabel Morin, age fifty. Fully aware that she would be ineligible for benefits, Ponce applied to the junta in Madrid requesting a special dispensation since he was then eighty years old and had served the crown over sixty years.<sup>75</sup> Adhering strictly to the regulations, the junta turned him down.<sup>76</sup> After his death on October 27, 1793, however, the authorities ordered that his widow be given an annual pension of 225 pesos from church fees.<sup>77</sup>

Other special conditions applying to marriages of officers also offered a modicum of protection to their spouses. Officers abandoning their wives were returned to a nearby post or ordered to have a portion of their salaries withheld to support their families. In 1755 Inés Morales wrote from Barcelona to Governor Felipe Ricardos in Caracas that her husband had abandoned her to serve in the Caracas Battalion. After verification of her claim the army

command in Madrid transferred him to Cataluña.<sup>78</sup> Also at mid-century Catalina Gil of Caracas complained that Captain Jacinto San Juan abandoned her and three children by returning to Spain with the Victoria Regiment. Consequently, he was ordered to Caracas from Asturias in 1756.<sup>79</sup> Another petitioner was María Francisca Marchena who complained that her husband, Colonel José Vázquez, departed Venezuela without providing for her and that she was destitute. Army authorities ordered one-third of his salary withheld for her support.<sup>80</sup>

In exceptional cases an officer could be cashiered if he abandoned his wife, while she retained rights to a pension after his death. In 1778 two brothers, Lieutenants Diego Antonio and Simón Carrasquero, were charged with deserting their wives and living with mistresses near their duty station in Maracaibo. They were arrested and upon the recommendation of the governor and retired from the service. Nevertheless when their husbands died they received Montepío funds.<sup>81</sup>

There was one example of adultery by the wife of an officer and here, too, the crown ruled she was entitled to benefits. In 1801 Lieutenant Colonel Joaquín Pérez, who had been transferred to Guatemala, was ordered to have one-third of his salary retained for the support of his wife, Belén Jerez de Aristeguieta of an elite Caracas family, and daughter. He protested the pay deduction because

his wife was pregnant by another man. An investigation revealed the truth of his allegations. Due to her elite status, however, neither local authorities nor those in Spain would intervene as the scandal would reflect poorly on the army. Consequently, the crown ordered him to support her and when he died she received a pension.<sup>82</sup>

### Property Rights

Officers' wives were entitled to the same protection as the civilian population regarding property rights. She could own property and conduct business in her name and inherit without her husband's intervention. Spanish law in this area did not show prejudice for males over females. In transactions at the beginning of the nineteenth century Second Lieutenant José Ignacio Roo bought two slaves from María Francisca de Soto and a home from Catalina Teresa Pirela.<sup>83</sup> Another example of women conducting business was the eighteen widows receiving pensions in 1783 in Caracas who all signed for and received funds for themselves and their children.<sup>84</sup>

The equality of laws concerning property were also reflected in inheritance. Both the officer and his wife could have separate property and their children inherited from both of them. Wealth accumulated during the marriage that was considered joint property was divided upon the

death of either spouse. On the other hand, separate property such as dowry or an inheritance was retained by the wife or husband.

In 1752 Second Lieutenant Dionisio Sánchez married Juana Jacienta Martínez in Cumaná. They maintained themselves on his salary and agricultural holdings he owned prior to the marriage. Martínez brought a dowry of 1,815 pesos to the marriage. By the time of her death in 1767 she had inherited 3,111 pesos from an uncle, and they had 2,556 pesos in joint property. Her net worth was 1,813 pesos (dowry), plus 3,111 pesos (inheritance), plus 1,278 pesos (one-half of the joint property), less 233 pesos (the cost of her funeral), for a total of 5,971 pesos. Each of their eight children, four males and four females, received 746 pesos from her estate.<sup>85</sup>

### Work

The social and cultural milieu of colonial Venezuela determined the work done by wives. There was a distinction between men's work and women's work. The former were "outside" jobs and latter "inside" jobs, in which women's work was considered of inferior importance. All officers could afford at least one slave, no doubt considerably lessening household duties. It does not appear that officer's wives were involved in most phases of food

preparation or related "inside" jobs. In 1783 Josefa Margarita Rengel of Cumaná was denied a Montepío pension because she married while her husband was a subaltern. In an appeal on her behalf, Commander Manuel Marmion wrote that since the death of her husband, "this unfortunate señora is required to live by her own industry and work--to which she is not accustomed--in order to provide for herself and five young children."<sup>86</sup>

A woman's role as wife and mother was perceived to be her most important contribution. According to Depons, "After marriage, all their attention and care are exclusively devoted to their husbands, the management of his household, and the education of their children."<sup>87</sup> While household maintenance was no doubt the responsibility of slaves, the role of mother was very difficult due to the young age of marriage, difficult and frequent pregnancies, and the possibility of becoming a widow at a young age. In 1800 Francisca Moreno de Mendoza, the daughter of a brigadier and widow of a captain, applied for a pension for herself and sixteen children. In her petition she stated she had married at the age of fifteen, had sixteen children--giving birth on an average of every thirteen months for twenty-one years--and was thirty-six years old.<sup>88</sup> In a similar petition Juana María Garaban wrote that in twelve years of marriage she delivered nine children, of whom five died before reaching their thirteenth birthdays.<sup>89</sup>

Upon the deaths of their husbands Moreno de Mendoza and Garaban joined the third of the population of Caracas who were female heads of households. As such these widows performed a vital role in colonial society. Given the predominant role of the family in Hispanic societies, in a very real sense the social fabric of Venezuelan society depended, in part, upon widows. In addition, they were responsible for their children's welfare and education, including personally instructing their daughters.<sup>90</sup> Some noteworthy examples indicate they were successful. Rosalia Pacheco y Mijares raised Nicolás Castro, Jr., alone from the age of seven; he signed the Declaration of Independence.<sup>91</sup> In 1784 Juana Soriano was left with fourteen children, twelve of them minors, when her husband died. Three of her minor sons--Juan Pablo, Mauricio, and Ramón--who she raised from the ages of nine, ten, and seventeen, served as officers in the Caracas Battalion and after independence on Bolívar's staff. Another son, Mariano, who she raised alone from the age of six, graduated in civil law from the Real Pontificia Universidad.<sup>92</sup>

Many officers' wives took on an additional role, that of petitioner on her husband's behalf. In other groups this could be indicative of their spouse's illiteracy, but this was not the case with army officers. In 1784 Pietola Roso, wife of artillery Lieutenant Antonio Arias de Reina, explained in a petition to the army command

in Madrid that two officers were promoted ahead of her husband to the detriment of him, her, and army morale. Whether due to her request or not, Arias was promoted immediately.<sup>93</sup> Ana María González wrote in January 1802 that her husband, Lieutenant Colonel Matias Letamendi, had been unable to return to La Guaira from Cádiz for over two years owing to lack of transport. By the end of the year her husband was back in Venezuela.<sup>94</sup>

The petition of Josefa Moreno de Mendoza, although unsuccessful, indicated not only her role as petitioner but also an awareness of cases similar to her husband's. In September 1790 the crown ordered her spouse, Captain José Esquivel, retired without benefits for misappropriation of 3,000 pesos of army funds. She wrote that "it is not a criminal who prostrates herself at your feet asking a pardon for her crimes, but a mother with four innocent children, who have been condemned to die in misery and obscurity." Furthermore, she maintained that her husband's case was not nearly as serious as that of Antonio Mello, a treasury official who mishandled 16,800 pesos, but nevertheless retired to Spain with an annual salary of 1,250 pesos "where he could live more comfortably than in Caracas where his salary was 2,500 pesos." Why she wrote the memorial and not her husband is unclear. He was in good health and five years before had received a royal decree honoring him as a translator of two volumes of a military text from French

to Spanish.<sup>95</sup> It appears Senora Moreño was following a pattern common to other wives of military officers as petitioners on behalf of their husbands.

### Conclusion

Marital regulations tended to perpetuate corporate solidarity among high-ranking officers, while insuring that the majority of the officer population established kinship ties with the civilian middle sectors. Generally women wishing to marry officers had to be white and bring a 2,500 pesos dowry to the marriage until 1789, and 3,000 pesos from then to the end of the colonial era. Although the crown tried to discourage sublaterns from contracting familial obligations early in their careers, in practice it made no difference; officers who wanted to marry did, and with royal approval.

Once they had married officers' wives had better conditions of marriage than women of similar socioeconomic status, enjoyed equal rights regarding property, and performed vital functions to the community. Through their access to funds from the Widow and Orphan Pension Plan or church receipts, some of the tragedy of widowhood was lessened. The crown, in alliance with local church officials, consistently intervened in cases of desertion by ordering officers to return to their wives, which



afforded them more protection than civilians. Although the cultural milieu determined men's work to be more important than women's work, wives of officers were responsible for the important tasks of raising the children and as petitioners on their husbands' behalf. The center of an officer's life was his home, where woman's "inside" work was the antithesis to his "outside" work, and where the two combined to provide the essential character of his daily and material life.

#### Notes to Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup>Evangelino Díez Muñoz, "El matrimonio de militares en España; Legislación y problemática canónica en el siglo XVIII a la luz de documentos inéditos," Revista de Historia Militar 27 (1969): 57 and 86-87; and Santiago Gerardo Suárez, Jurisdicción Eclesiástica y capellanía castrenses: el matrimonio militar (Caracas: Italgráfica, 1972), pp. 39-41.

<sup>2</sup>Díez Muñoz, "El matrimonio," pp. 86-87.

<sup>3</sup>Félix Colón y Larriátegui Ximénez de Embún, Juzgados Militares de España y sus Indias, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Madrid: Ibarra y Hijos, 1786-1796), I:328-330.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., I:330.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., I:336-40 and 348.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., I:330-40; and Juan Carlos Agüero et al., to Julián Arriaga, Caracas, November 29, 1775, AGI CAR 83.

<sup>7</sup>Juan Guillelmi to Antonio Valdés, Caracas, October 18, 1789, AGI CAR 113; and Suárez, Jurisdicción, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup>Real Decreto, Madrid, July 17, 1803, AGI CAR 395.

<sup>9</sup>Real Decreto, Aranjuez, May 27, 1805, AGI CAR 395.

<sup>10</sup>Colón y Larriátegui, Juzgados, I:357; Manuel González to José de Gálvez, Caracas, July 21, 1783, AGI CAR 86; and Memorial of Salvador Muñoz, Maracaibo, August 27, 1797, AGS GM 7230.

<sup>11</sup>Suárez, Jurisdicción, pp. 65-67.

<sup>12</sup>Memorial of Eusebio de Dios, Caracas, March 1, 1752, AGI CAR 864; and Felipe Ricardos to Marques de Ensenada, Caracas, October 20, 1752, AGI CAR 864.

<sup>13</sup>See Memorial of Juan Burguillos, in Agüero to Aggiaga, Caracas, June 15, 1774, AGI CAR 82.

<sup>14</sup>"Memorial y documentos que le ha presentado el subteniente Don Pedro de Roo para la solicitud de Real Licencia para casarse," Caracas, July 23, 1774, AGI CAR 82; and Agüero to Arriaga, Caracas, April 20, 1775, AGI CAR 83.

<sup>15</sup>Memoriales of Pedro Manrique, Bernardo Junjuera Tello, Salvador Muñoz, Bruno Pasqual de Moragrega, Salvador Escurpi, and Antonio Negrete, in Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, July 3, 1776, AGI CAR 864; Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, AGI CAR 864; Guillelmi to Alange, Caracas, September 29, 1790, AGI CAR 92; and Guillelmi to Alange, Caracas, April 19, 1757, AGI CAR 93.

<sup>16</sup>Francisco de Santa Cruz to Gálvez, Maracaibo, March 28, 1778, AGI CAR 146; Luis de Unzaga to Gálvez, Caracas, September 14, 1778, AGI CAR 84.

<sup>17</sup>Felipe Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, July 3, 1756, AGI CAR 864; Memorial of Antonio Negrete, La Guaira, December 10, 1756, AGI CAR 864; Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, April 2, 1757, AGI CAR 864; Antonio Guill to Arriaga, Zaragoza, May 31, 1757, AGI CAR 864; and Matrimonios y velaciones de españoles y criollos blancos celebrados en la catedral de Caracas desde 1615 hasta 1831 (Caracas: Instituto Venezolano de Genealogía, 1974), pp. 684-85.

<sup>18</sup>Guillelmi to Gálvez, Caracas, June 23, 1787, AGI CAR 90; and Memorial of José de la Concha, Puerto Rico, November 15, 1788, AGS GM 7224.

<sup>19</sup>Remírez to Arriaga, Caracas, December 1, 1757, AGI CAR 90864; ibid., July 21, 1758, AGI CAR 864; and Royal Order, Madrid, October 28, 1758, AGI CAR 863-B.

- 20 Guillelmi to Valdés, Caracas, October 20, 1788, AGI CAR 112; ibid., August 24, 1789, AGI CAR 113; ibid., June 29, 1790, AGS GM 7224; and Memorial of José Pavía, Caracas, November 6, 1790, AGI CAR 92.
- 21 Juan Ramo, Bishop of Mérida, to Gálvez, Mérida, November 19, 1786, AGI CAR 882; Memorial of Jaime Moreno, Maracaibo, December 26, 1786, AGI CAR 882; Memorial of María Muñoz, Maracaibo, March 22, 1787, AGI CAR 882; and Pedro Carbonell to Azanga, Caracas, January 24, 1797, AGS GM 7229.
- 22 Agüero to Arriaga, Caracas, April 21, 1775, AGI CAR 83; Guillelmi to Valdés, Caracas, October 18, 1789, AGI CAR 113; and Memorial of Francisco Marmol, Margarita, October 10, 1799, AGI CAR 97.
- 23 Asunción Lavrin and Edith Couturier. "Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial Guadalajara and Puebla, 1640-1790," Hispanic American Historical Review 59 (May 1979): 283.
- 24 Memorial of Juan Burguillos, in Agüero to Arriaga, Caracas, June 15, 1774, AGI CAR 82.
- 25 Receipt of Goods, Maracaibo, September 13, 1800, in Agustín Millares Carolo, comp., Archivo de Registro Principal de Maracaibo; Protocolos de los Antiguos Escribanos (1790-1836), Índice y Extractos (Maracaibo: Centro Historico del Zulia, 1964), pp. 102-103.
- 26 Joaquín Primo de Rivera to Valdés, Maracaibo, June 12 and July 14, 1788, AGI CAR 147; Memorial of Félix de Carrasquero, Maracaibo, June 24, 1790, AGI CAR 92; and Guillelmi to Alange, Caracas, September 29, 1790, AGI CAR 93.
- 27 Testimonio of Juan Rodríguez, Cuayana, July 15, 1806, AGI CAR 105.
- 28 Matrimonios y velaciones, p. 807; Memorial of María de Mercedes Suárez de Urbina, Caracas, August 26, 1795, AGS GM 7229; and Antonio Luis Real to Miguel José de Azanza, Madrid, July 19, 1796, AGS GM 7229.
- 29 Francisco Ignacio Cortines to Guillelmi, Caracas, October 31, 1788, AGI CAR 112; Guillelmi to Valdés, Caracas, AGI CAR 112; and Enrique Núñez, La ciudad de los techos rojos (Caracas: Tipografía Vargas, 1947-48), pp. 122-23.

<sup>30</sup>Guillelmi to Valdés, Caracas, August 24, 1789, AGI CAR 113.

<sup>31</sup>Service Record of Manuel Aldao, Caracas, December 1783, AGI CAR 850; and Order of the Consejo de Guerra, Madrid, July 11, 1785, AGI CAR 282.

<sup>32</sup>Memorial of Manuel Beamud, Maracay, April 8, 1802, AGI CAR 100; and Memorial of María Ana, Ana María, María Josefa, and María de Rosario Beamud, Maracay, May 8, 1808, AGI CAR 414.

<sup>33</sup>See Appendix VI.

<sup>34</sup>Fedriodo Brito Figueroa, La estructura economica de Venezuela colonial (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1963), p. 132; and John V. Lombardi, People and Places in Colonial Venezuela (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), pp. 137-38.

<sup>35</sup>Brito Figueroa, pp. 140-41.

<sup>36</sup>See Appendix VII.

<sup>37</sup>Memorial of Rosalia Pacheco, Caracas, April 30, 1782, AGI CAR 872; José Antonio de Sangroniz y Castro, Familias coloniales de Venezuela (Caracas: Editorial Bolívar, 1943), pp. 224-225 and 385; Memorial of María Teresa Manrique et al., Caracas, December 23, 1785, AGI CAR 874; Service Record of Pedro Manrique, Jr., Caracas, December 1786, in Vicente Davíla, comp., Hojas militares, 3 vols., (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1930-1950), II:230-31; Service Record of Juan Manrique, Caracas, December 1786, AGI CAR 851; Memorial of Ana Antonia Montasterios, Caracas, October 27, 1761, AGI CAR 865; and Memorial of Juliana Blanco y Plaza, in Manuel González to Gálvez, Caracas, October 20, 1784, AGI CAR 87.

<sup>38</sup>Memorial of Micaela Monserrate, Caracas, July 8, 1783, AGI CAR 86; Sangroniz, Familias coloniales, p. 384. Lohmann Villena, Americanos, I:254-55; "Sumaria instruida para averiguar si el Capt. de Granaderos Don Ignacio Matos se halla ingerido de demencia," Caracas, May 30, 1805, AGI CAR 105; Caracciolo Parra Pérez, Historia de la Primera Republica de Venezuela, 2 vols. (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1959), I:301, 315-317, 329, and 465, and II:289; and Mercedes Alvarez P., Temas para la Historia del Comercio Colonial (Caracas: Tipografía Vargas, 1966), pp. 62-68.

<sup>39</sup>Service Record of Juan de Casas, Caracas, December 1805, AGI CAR 883; Agüero to Arriaga, Caracas, June 20, 1-75, AGI CAR 83; Sangroniz, pp. 79, and 127-28; Memorial of Rosalio Aguado, in Unzaga to Gálvez, Caracas, January 26, 1778, AGI CAR 84; Matrimonios y velaciones, p. 740; Memorial of Evaristo Buroz, Caracas, June 1, 1789, AGI CAR 113; Esteban Fernández de León to Juan Manuel Alvarez, Caracas, January 2, 1799, AGI CAR 484; and Kathleen Waldron, "A Social History of a Primate City: The Case of Caracas, 1750-1810," Indiana University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1977, pp. 159-60 and 184.

<sup>40</sup>Memorial of Juan Antonio Peinado, Caracas, April 30, 1754, AGI CAR 867; Conde de Ricla to Gálvez, El Palacio, July 29, 1778, AGI Indiferente General 1823; Memorial of Diego Bailén, La Guaira, February 16, 1767, AGI CAR 883; Matrimonios y velaciones, pp. 694 and 848; Order of Consejo de Guerra, Madrid, July 11, 1785, AGI CAR 282; Dávila, comp., Hojas militares, I:36-38; Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, April 2, 1757, AGI CAR 864; Montepío Records, Caracas, 1783, AGI CAR 484; "Testamento del Expediente . . . por Juana María Garaban viuda de Capitan Salvador de Ecurpi," Caracas, June 30, 1788, AGI CAR 111; Service Record of Francisco Jacot, Madrid, December 1786, AGS GM 5837; and Parra Pérez, Primera Republica, II:289.

<sup>41</sup>Service Record of Francisco Nanclares, Caracas, December 1763, AGI CAR 843; Agüero to Arriaga, Caracas, November 16, 1775, AGI CAR 83; Matrimonios y velaciones, p. 922; Dávila, Hojas Militares, III:45-46; Dávila, Proceres, II:78-79.

<sup>42</sup>Robert James Berry, "Cacao and Kindred: Transformation of Economy and Society in Colonial Caracas," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1980, pp. 227-28.

<sup>43</sup>Matrimonios y velaciones, pp. 585 and 829; Dávila, Proceres, I:389; "Relación de servicios del Coronel Don Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza," Caracas, December 1, 1774, AGI CAR 867; José Solano to Arriaga, Caraccas, March 3, 1768, AGI CAR 121; Memorial to Manuel Moreno, Caracas, February 25, 1791, AGI CAR 93; Cuillelmi to Valdés, Caracas, February 28, 1790, AGI CAR 113; Memorial of Manuel Moreno, Caracas, May 7, 1800, AGI CAR 96; and Parra Pérez, Primera Republica, I:396, and II:16 and 277.

<sup>44</sup>Matrimonios y velaciones, p. 857; Memorial of María de la Merced Ascanio y Rada, Cumaná, February 19, 1808, AGI CAR 107; Iturriza Guillen, Familias de Cumaná, pp. 167-73, and 230; and "Visita . . . por Diguja," Cumaná, 1761, AGI CAR 201, folio 613.

45 Service Record of José Serrano, Caracas, December 1777, AGI CAR 869; Memorial of José Burguillos, Caracas, June 7, 1774, AGI CAR 82; Service Record of Manuel Villapol, Cumaná, December 1799, in Dávila, Hojas militares, III:426-27; Dávila, comp., Proceres, II:390-91; and Matrimonios y velaciones, p. 689.

46 Service Record of Agustín Casado, Maracaibo, December 1786, AGI CAR 90; Agustín Millares Carlo, comp., Archivo del Registro Principal de Maracaibo; Protocolos de los Antiguos Escribanos (1790-1836), Índice y extractos (Maracaibo: Centro Historicos de Zulía, 1964), pp. 127, 138, 147, 151, and 188; and Service Record of Antonio Iriarte, Maracaibo, December 1799, AGS GM 7295.

47 Unzaga to Gálvez, Caracas, February 14, 1778, AGI CAR 84; José Antonio Caballero to Secretario del Despacho de Gracia y Justicia, San Lorenzo, December 13, 1801, AGI CAR 379; and Service Records of Francisco, Juan, Pedro, and Miguel Delgado Moreno, Maracaibo, December 1814, in Dávila, comp., Hojas militares, I:329-331.

48 Service Record of Ramón Correa y Guevara, Maracaibo-December 1814, in Dávila, comp., Hojas militares, I:308-11.

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50 Sangroniz, Familias coloniales, pp. 27-29; "Visita general," Cumaná, 1761, AGI CAR 201, folios 605-607; Iturriza Guillén, Familias de Cumaná, pp. 9-13 and 249-52; and "Testimonio de la Cuenta, Dviision, Partición y adjudicación de los bienes que por su fallecimiento dejó Dona Juana Jacenta Martínez de Gordon y Lugo, dentro de sus hijos lexítimos," Cumaná, October 5, 1776, AGI CAR 129.

51 Kathleen Waldron, "A Social History of a Primate City: The Case of Caracas, 1750-1810," Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1977, pp. 50-51.

52 "Padron del vezindario de la Ciudad de Guayana," Guayana, January 1, 1769, AGI CAR 136. The heads of elite families were: Pedro Amoroso, Margarita Chaquedo, Nicolas Munoz, Adolfo Bonrrosen, Simon Cedeno, Jacinta Guerra, Santiago Bonalde, Francisco Bobadilla, Carlos Gomez de Saa, Pedro de Los, Luis Santos, Felix Farreras, Vicente Franco, Tomas Franques, Pedro Moyano, Isabel Bello, Juan de Jesus de Mieres, Andres de Oleaga, Diego Marinos, and Cayetano Filguiera.

53 Ibid., Antonio de Pereda and Andres de Oleaga to Gálvez, Guayana, March 5, 1778, AGI IG 1823; Dávila, Hojas, I:400-401; Manuel Antonio Flores to Gálvez, Santa Fé de Bogotá, March 31, 1777, AGI IG 1823; and Service Record of Francisco Bobadilla, Jr., Guayana, December 1784, AGI CAR 851.

54 Service Record of Antonio Barreto, Caracas, December 1785, AGI CAR 851; Memorial of Antonio Barreto, Caracas, December 9, 1784, AGI CAR 87; Manuel González to Gálvez, Caracas, December 20, 1785, AGI CAR 88; Lohmann Villena, Americanos, I:43; Memorial of María de Mercedes Suárez de Urbina, Caracas, August 26, 1795, AGS GM 7229; and Matrimonios y velaciones p. 807.

55 "Cuentas de division, y particion . . . de los bienes que quedaron por el fallecimiento del Captain de Milicias Don Manuel Jose de Aispurua," Maracaibo, December 16, 1779, AGI CAR 87.

56 "Testimonio de las diligencias practicadas a pedimiento de Dona Rosa Antonia Ramírez de Espinoza sobre calificar la existencia de su dote," Cumaná, March 10, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

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58 Real Decreto, Aranjuez, April 10, 1803, AGI CAR 395.

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<sup>61</sup>Reglamento de la fundación y establecimiento del Monte de Piedad, Madrid, 1761, folios 6 and 7.

<sup>62</sup>Real Declaración de su Magistad de 17 de Junio de 1773; sobre el metodo, y observacion uniforme con que debe cumplirse en los Dominos de America lo dispuesto en el Reglamento del Monte Pío Militar expedido por su Magistad en 20 de Abril de 1761, Madrid, 1773, folios 1-3.

<sup>63</sup>Reglamento (1761), folio 8.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., folios 12-35.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., folios 72-126.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., folios 72-126.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., folios 127-148.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., folios 149-180.

<sup>69</sup>See Chapter III, pp.

<sup>70</sup>Montepío Account Records, Guayana, 1801, AGI CAR 139.

<sup>71</sup>Montepío Account Records, Caracas, 1783, AGI CAR 484.

<sup>72</sup>Service Record of Manuel Ayala, Caracas, April 30, 1755, AGI CAR 850; Memorial of Manuel Ayala, in Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, July 31, 1756, AGI CAR 864; and Memorial of Juana Soriano, Caracas, June 25, 1784, AGI CAR 872.

<sup>73</sup>Guillelmi to Alange, Caracas, September 29, 1790, AGI CAR 92; and Jose Sucre Reyes, La capitania general de Venezuela (Barcelona: Editorial E M, 1969), p. 258.

<sup>74</sup>Memorial of Josefa Serrano, Caracas, October 10, 1788, AGI CAR 112; Guillelmi to Valdés, Caracas, June 14, 1789, AGI CAR 114; and Memorial of María del Carmen and Francisca Antonia Burguillos, Caracas, Aubust ?, 1809, AGI CAR 465.

<sup>75</sup>Memorial of Gregorio Ponce, La Guaira, April 8, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

<sup>76</sup>Guillelmi to Gálvez, Caracas, December 26, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

<sup>77</sup>Antonio López Quintana to Diego de Gardoqui, Caracas, March 31, 1795, AGI CAR 465; and Pedro Carbonell to Eugenio Llaguno, Caracas, June 30, 1795, AGI CAR 94.



<sup>78</sup>Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, July 25, 1755, AGI CAR 864.

<sup>79</sup>Ricardos to Arriaga, Caracas, July 3, 1756, AGI CAR 864.

<sup>80</sup>Pedro Cevallos to Secretario del Despacho de Hacienda, Madrid, July 28, 1805, AGI CAR 864.

<sup>81</sup>Service Records of Diego and Simón Carrasquero, Maracaibo, June 1778, AGI CAR 880; González to Gálvez, Caracas, June 21, 1783, AGI CAR 86; Saavedra to Gálvez, Caracas, July 9, 1785, AGI CAR 479; and Memorial of Pedro Carrasquero, Maracaibo, July 16, 1779, AGI CAR 49.

<sup>82</sup>Manuel de Guevara Vasconcelos to Minister of War, Caracas, September 22, 1801, AGI CAR 98; and Guevara to Secretario de Estado, Guatemala, December 18, 1807, AGI CAR 473.

<sup>83</sup>Millares, Protocolos, pp. 106-107, and 123-29.

<sup>84</sup>Montepío Account Records, Caracas, September 29, 1784, AGI CAR 476.

<sup>85</sup>"Testimonio de la Cuenta, División, Partición y adjudicación de los bienes que por su fallecimiento dejó Dona Juana Jacinta Martínez de Gordon y Lugo, dentro de sus legítimos hijos," Cumaná, October 5, 1776, AGI CAR 129.

<sup>86</sup>Miguel Marmion to Gálvez, Cumaná, May 20, 1783, AGI IG 1825.

<sup>87</sup>Depons, Travels in Parts of South America, pp. 140-41.

<sup>88</sup>Memorial of Francisca Moreno de Mendoza, Maracaibo, November 17, 1800, AGI CAR 99.

<sup>89</sup>Testamento of Juana María Garavan, Caracas, June 30, 1788, AGI CAR 111.

<sup>90</sup>Waldron, "Primate City," p. 156; and Depons, pp. 140-41.

<sup>91</sup>Real Decreto, Madrid, December 7, 1773, AGI IG 1822.

<sup>92</sup>Service Record of Juan Pablo Ayala, Caracas, December 1799, Hojas militares, I:113-14; Manuel Ayala, Caracas, December 1808, Hojas militares, I:114-16; Service Records of Ramón, Juan Pablo, and Mauricio Ayala, Caracas, December 1808, Hojas militares, I:111-14; and Memorial of Juana Soriano, Caracas, June 25, 1784, AGI CAR 872.

<sup>93</sup>Memorial of Pietola Roso, Cumaná, October 16, 1784, AGI CAR 479; and Guillelmi to Alange, Caracas, September 29, 1790, AGI CAR 92.

<sup>94</sup>Memorial of Ana María González, Caracas, June 30, 1802, AGI CAR 100; and Memorial of Metias Letamendi, Caracas, October 5, 1803, AGI CAR 102.

<sup>95</sup>Memorial of Josefa Moreno de Mendoza, Valencia (Venezuela), May 15, 1791, AGI CAR 93; and Real Cedula. El Pardo, March 6, 1785, AGI CAR 873.

CHAPTER V  
MATERIAL LIFE AND STATUS

To understand more fully the universe of regular army officers of two centuries ago it is necessary to go beyond the institution to which they belonged, their career patterns, and their familial ties. Fernand Braudel has described the intellectual voyage to the period before the Industrial Revolution as "a journey to another planet, another human universe."<sup>1</sup> We can conceive discussing strategy, tactics, and the prerogatives of the fuero militar with an officer of the Bourbon Army in eighteenth century Venezuela; we are comfortable with his world of ideas. But if requested to share his everyday life, the contrasts would be striking. The overriding distinction that separated our "planet" from his would be the "limits of the possible," the ceiling or borderline that restricted his life--for instance, food supply, labor productivity, and control of the environment--before the nineteenth century. It is possible to move closer to his universe by describing aspects of his material life: food, drink, housing, furniture, clothing, and luxury.

This description serves another function beyond the strictly graphic. By comparing an officer's material life

with that of other Venezuelans we are able to reaffirm his membership in the middle sector and utilize his daily life as broadly representative of those of similar socioeconomic status.

### Houses

An officer's home was the center of his non-military activities. With the exception of a few living in the barracks in Caracas after 1790 and those posted to the frontier along the Orinoco River, none of the officers lived in forts or presidios. Furthermore, whether assigned to militia instruction and supervision or a regular company, they resided in urban areas. Since there were only minor differences between houses in towns throughout the captaincy general--compared with significant variations between urban and rural dwellings--common characteristics of the daily and material life were shared by officers in Caracas, Cumaná, Guayana, Maracaibo, and on Margarita Island.<sup>2</sup>

The standard residential lot was twelve varas (approximately ten yards) along the front facing the street. The depth varied, but was usually approximately the same measurement as the width. A standard plot cost thirty pesos in a new barrio, half a captain's monthly pay, and increased in value during the century as the area

developed.<sup>3</sup> However, there were some very large lots similar to that of Sebastián Miranda, the "Great Precursor's" father, which measured 28.25 varas by 76.26 varas.<sup>4</sup> These could cost as much as 500 pesos, which was the value assigned to one owned by Captain Evaristo Buroz of the Caracas Battalion.<sup>5</sup>

Construction methods were similar throughout the captaincy general, although materials used for the walls varied slightly. The most common procedure was called bajareque.<sup>6</sup> After leveling the plot the builder erected vertical wooden supports in the corners. For alignment he strung a cord from one pole to another and placed additional vertical supports every meter or so which served as the frame for the walls. Starting first in the corners the builder then erected the walls from a mixture of soil, clay, sand, and grass. To add stability narrow strips of wood, bamboo, or sugar cane were affixed horizontally every few inches on either face of the walls. Once constructed they were then covered with mud or clay.<sup>7</sup>

The other popular construction method was tapia. Instead of relying on wooden supports the builder utilized large molds consisting of two sheets of wood (similar to plywood) measuring approximately one and a half by one yards. A mixture of soil, clay, or lime (in Maracaibo) and rocks was sprinkled with water and poured into the mold. After the mixture hardened the wooden sheets were removed

and the walls dried by the sun. The builder repeated the process until the sides were complete, leaving spaces for windows and doors.<sup>8</sup>

Much less common, although utilized by the wealthy, were walls constructed of stone or masonry (mampostería). Large stones were a luxury in Venezuela, and the evidence seems to indicate they were commonly used only in Maracaibo.<sup>9</sup> Masonry was more often utilized, especially in Cumaná, where in 1761, 80 of the 432 houses were of this construction.<sup>10</sup> In Guayana five years later there were 98 houses, 90 of bajareque construction, 8 of tapia, and none of masonry or stone.<sup>11</sup>

The floors and roofs of officer's houses were similar for all construction methods. The former were of bricks measuring 15.5 by 2 inches laid next to one another on a base of soil or sand. Roofs were of curved tile similar in design to those of Andalusia, and were supported by wooden cross beams. The ceiling was not covered or further improved underneath the roof, while the interior walls were often whitewashed.<sup>12</sup> To protect against insects the floors and walls were treated with sulfur, pepper, and rosemary.<sup>13</sup>

While available construction materials determined the exterior, the living space reflected the officer's Spanish heritage. Once entering through double wooden doors the focus of the interior was the courtyard. Surrounding the patio were the rooms used to receive guests, the dining

room, and the bedrooms. To the rear of the courtyard was a passageway leading to the area utilized for cooking and storing food. Behind the kitchen area, that is in the back or interior of the block, were the corrals and pens for animals.<sup>14</sup>

Prices for the lots and houses varied according to size, location, and time. Kathleen Waldron found in Caracas that recorded sales from 1790 through 1792 ranged from 100 to 6,875 pesos. By far the wealthiest parish was that of the cathedral where the average sale price was 2,548 pesos. Much lower were the mean prices in San Pablo and Altagracia parishes, approximately 850 pesos, and the 516 and 430 pesos average sale prices in Candelaria and Santa Rosalía parishes respectively. These values were the result of increases in prices beginning at least by mid-century, sometimes dramatically. Waldon found a house worth 210 pesos in 1746 and 2,000 pesos in 1792, and another which sold for 180 pesos in 1757 and 600 pesos in 1792.<sup>15</sup> In the cathedral parish the next door neighbor of Colonel Nicolás Castro, Sr., of the Caracas Battalion, Sebastián Miranda, in 1762 purchased a home for 5,000 pesos and twenty years later sold it for 6,197 pesos.<sup>16</sup>

Sales records and dowry agreements indicate that most officers lived in homes valued between 1,500 and 3,000 pesos. At the end of the eighteenth century in Maracaibo, First Adjudant Pedro Fernández purchased a

house for 2,200 pesos, Lieutenant Fabián Salinas, lived in a dwelling valued at 2,119 pesos, and Second Lieutenant Ignacio Roo bought a home for 1,500 pesos.<sup>17</sup> In Caracas Lieutenant José Burguillos moved into a 2,500 pesos house in 1774.<sup>18</sup> Ten years later in Cumaná Captain Rafael Ordóñez resided in a home for 3,000 pesos.<sup>19</sup>

A comparison of these prices with the salaries in Table 3:1 indicated that officers lived in houses valued approximately four times their annual pay. A captain in Caracas earned 720 pesos annually and would, therefore, live in a house worth approximately 2,880 pesos. This was roughly the amount of the average sale price in the cathedral parish in the 1790s, where, in fact, most officers lived.<sup>20</sup> The factor of four times annual salary also appears to hold for laborers who earned approximately 79 pesos annually. Four times this salary was 316 pesos, which compares favorably with the determination of Miguel Acosta who found that the poor in Caracas lived in houses valued at 300 pesos.<sup>21</sup>

Dwellings were sparsely furnished. The major item was a cedar table and its stools, which might have straw cushions. People slept on beds with straw or woollen mattresses or in hammocks. The walls were decorated with religious artifacts; there were no tapestries or rugs. A standard cooking area had an oven and a large table,



which could be tiled. Anything not prepared in the oven was cooked over a charcoal fire rimmed with stones.

The Cumaná residence of Captain Rafael Ordóñez was typical of an officer at the end of his career in the 1780s. The dwelling, including the interior courtyard, measured 17.5 varas along the cobblestone street and 45 varas along the side walls (16 by 41 yards) and had a value of 3,000 pesos. Passing into the structure from the street, through double wooden doors, Ordóñez stepped into a small entranceway which, like the rest of the residence, had a brick floor and whitewashed walls. Directly in front of him was a courtyard, around which were three small rooms that could be used as bedrooms, and two large rooms, one of which was the dining room and the other to receive guests. Passing through the courtyard to a small corridor led him to the cooking area at the rear of the residence. Unlike the majority of the houses in the captaincy general, although fairly common along the coast, Ordóñez's had a second story, but only over the third of the house near the street. A stairway of lime and stone led to the room on the second floor. In this and other rooms facing the street were wooden shutters serving as windows which were protected by iron grates. The doors and windows were hung with hinges and could be locked.<sup>22</sup>

The captains' furnishings were modest. In the dining room he had a long cedar table with a drawer, some

stools, and a table setting. In the other rooms were two mirrors, four small gold-plated glass cornucopias, and two desks. The kitchen contained an oven and a brick barbecue measuring two feet wide and twenty feet long. When the inventory was made there was no bed listed, although he certainly could have afforded one. It was possible, however, that he and his wife slept on hammocks.<sup>23</sup>

The furnishings of the house of First Adjutant Dionisio Sánchez de Arellano were indicative of those of a wealthier officer. His home and property, also in Cumaná, in 1776 had a value nearly twice that of Ordóñez's, 5,237 pesos. The exact dimensions and number of rooms of the house were not included in the inventory taken when his wife died in that year, but was approximately 30 by 70 varas and had between ten and twenty rooms.<sup>24</sup>

Sánchez's home was elaborately furnished. In the main dining room were a desk with a locked drawer, a cedar china cabinet, a large two-leafed cedar table with mahogany legs, eight stools, and two chairs with straw cushions. The bedroom had a cedar headboard and frame with coarse woolen webbing, a woolen mattress, six pillows of the same material, a canopy, and mahogany wardrobe. Elsewhere in the house were three drapery boxes with iron rods and curtain rings, three large cedar tables, a crystal lamp, a cedar chest, a mahogany table, two cedar desks, a small box for religious items, twenty stools with straw cushions,

and two cedar cabinets. The walls were adorned with twelve images of saints, including one a yard tall and another recessed in a wall featuring oil paintings of the Virgin Mary, Saint Dominic, and Saint Francis. On one wall were six framed maps; one each of the four parts of the world, one of the globe, and one of the world. In the library Sánchez could select from twenty-eight books, all but one of which--José de Oviedo y Banos' La historia o conquista de la Provincia de Venezuela (valued at two pesos)--were religious.<sup>25</sup>

Neither the inventory of the Sánchez nor Ordóñez home contained detailed information about cooking items. A sample exists, however, from the house of Captain Francisco Albuquerque of Maracaibo in 1784. Cooking utensils included a soup ladle, two metal bowls, a copper chocolate pot, a mortar and pestle, two stones to grind chocolate, two small metal broilers, and a large (twenty pounds) copper frying pan. The table could be set with seventeen sets of plates, forks, and knives, and a large earthen jar for water.<sup>26</sup>

These houses and furnishings were owned by the officer or his wife, but many military families, perhaps most, rented. In Caracas Waldron found that laborer's rent was from four to five pesos monthly, an expenditure of approximately one-half his salary. On the other hand, the most expensive homes rented for thirty pesos per month,

which reflected a much lower percentage of income for the wealthy.<sup>27</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the higher the salary the lower the percentage of total income spent on housing. First Adjutant Diego Ufano earned fifty pesos monthly in La Guaira during the 1770s and 1780s and paid fifteen pesos of that salary for rent, a little less than a third of his take home pay.<sup>28</sup> This would leave thirty-five pesos for food and drink, clothing, medical care, household items, and miscellaneous goods and services.

#### Diet

After housing army officers spent the largest part of their salaries on food and drink. There were no commissaries or rations provided so they depended upon local markets. Their income, however, allowed them some dietary luxuries not afforded the majority of the population, especially traditional Spanish staple items such as olive oil and wine.<sup>29</sup>

The single most important item in the diet of Venezuelans in the eighteenth century was bread. As with houses, however, there were variations by socioeconomic group. The wealthy at times ate wheat bread,<sup>30</sup> the majority ate corn griddle cakes, and the poor cassava loaves. Wheat was grown in Caracas Province and Maracaibo,<sup>31</sup> but not in Cumaná.<sup>32</sup> Due to the emphasis on cacao production, however, there was never enough domestic wheat to supply

the majority of the population at an affordable price.<sup>33</sup> With few exceptions, it is unlikely that army officers ate wheat bread on a regular basis, although they could afford it when it was available.

The mainstay of the officer's diet was maize, eaten in the form of a griddle cake, known locally as arepa. Maize which grew easily and demanded little care flourished in many parts of the captaincy general. Once harvested the kernels were soaked, ground, and baked; sometimes after being mixed with eggs. In the absence of maize Venezuelans substituted cassava, the flour obtained from the manioc root. Cassava bread was baked after the root was cut, washed, dried, and ground.<sup>34</sup>

The other important dietary item was beef, fresh if available but usually dried and salted. On account of thieves who slaughtered the cattle only for their hides and because of poor transportation, better quality fresh beef was not available in quantities sufficient to feed the population at an affordable price. Consequently, in the cattle producing regions--the Llanos and near Nueva Barcelona--meat was preserved by separating the carcasses in large chunks, steeping it in brine, and drying it outdoors. From the drying beds it was transported elsewhere within the captaincy general and to the Caribbean Islands. Fresh substitutes such as goat meat and pork were

were available, and the Caracas Company imported hams and sausages.<sup>35</sup>

Officers residing near bodies of water could also obtain protein from seafoods. In the 1760s in Cumaná Province the majority of the population subsisted on several varieties of fish and shellfish. Along the coast they were eaten fresh and inland after being salted and dried. There was enough of a surplus after local consumption during the decade to ship 300,000 pounds of salted fish to Caracas annually.<sup>36</sup> By the end of the century officers in Cumaná had altered their dietary patterns by consuming more beef than seafood, and when the former was unavailable, pork.<sup>37</sup> Fresh fish was not readily available in Caracas as it was a six or seven hour journey from the coast.<sup>38</sup> The Caracas Company imported salted cod, salmon, and herring.<sup>39</sup>

The monotony of beef and maize cakes could be broken by supplementary foods. In the 1760s chickens, turkeys, and ducks were available, but never consumed in large quantities. Domestic dairy products were eaten, as well as a variety of imported cheeses, especially from Flanders. The most widely consumed vegetable was frijoles, although peas, green beans, plantains, potatoes, rice, and other varieties were grown locally. Fruit choices included figs, grapes, quince, pineapples, pears, and apples. Such

items as almonds, raisins, and olives were imported by the Caracas Company.<sup>40</sup>

Condiments were utilized in the meals of army officers. Salt was available during the entire colonial era from beds in the Caribbean basin, including that of Araya near Cumaná. Officers perhaps preferred their beef prepared with olive oil and garlic, both of which were used in great quantities. The former was always imported. Venezuelans shared the sugar addiction of the Atlantic world. Sugar was preserved in a loaf known as papelón, produced throughout the captaincy general. Criollos were also especially fond of preserves.<sup>41</sup>

The officer would probably have had wine with his afternoon meal, and at some time during the day enjoyed a cup of cocoa or chocolate. He could have chosen a red wine from Andalusia, Madeira, or perhaps the Azores, or a white wine from the Canary Islands.<sup>42</sup> Cocoa was as much a part of the diet as beef and maize cakes. It was most commonly mixed with papelón, but many wealthier citizens, including some officers, added cinnamon and sugar.<sup>43</sup> In the event they drank with their men--something forbidden by army authorities, but nevertheless done on occasion--they would have had a sugar cane liquor called guarapo.<sup>44</sup> Cider was also available at the end of the colonial era.<sup>45</sup>

The leap from the "limits of the possible"--to paraphrase Fernand Braudel--to how much of each food an officer consumed was difficult.<sup>46</sup> An indication of a typical staple diet for officers was obtained, however, by utilizing an army ration record and for the general population by a survey made by Doctor Agustín Marón of Caracas Province in 1774.<sup>47</sup> Ration records have been utilized by historians since the pioneering work of Earl J. Hamilton in the 1920s.<sup>48</sup> They reflect minimum dietary standards as perceived by military authorities. In 1772 two peninsular engineer officers, Juan de Arévalo and Miguel Roncali, determined how much food and drink would be needed to feed 3,000 officers and men for three months in the fort at Puerto Cabello.<sup>49</sup> These two records narrow somewhat the distance from the general to the particular regarding diet.

The dietary recommendations of the peninsular officers for a 3,000 man force for ninety days--as reflected in Table 5:1--were intended to serve while the fort was under seige. Consequently, the list included not only how much food and drink was necessary, but other items related to preparation as well. This ideal diet, which did not distinguish between officers and enlisted men, was very similar to those of sailors in the carrera de Indias during the sixteenth century. According to Hamilton seamen consumed approximately 3,500 calories daily while



Table 5:1. Army Dietary for 3,000 Officers and Men in  
Puerto Cabello for Ninety Days, 1772.

Item	Total Allotment	Approximate Weekly U.S. Equivalent per Man
Maize Bred	315,000 libras	8.8 pounds
Salted Beef	900,000 libras (with bone) <sup>a</sup>	12.7 pounds (boned)
Salt Pork	75,000 libras	2.11 pounds
Vegetables	50,000 libras	1.4 pounds
Aguardiente	30 pipas	1 pint
Table Wine	60 pipas	2 pints
Vinegar	15 pipas <sup>b</sup>	1 cup
Salt	60 fanegas <sup>b</sup>	1.8 ounces
Olive Oil	300 botijuejas <sup>c</sup>	1 cup

Miscellaneous:

Hens for the ill	1,000
Maize to feed them	10,000 libras
Firewood	200,000 libras

Source: "Relación que demuestra los efectos que faltan en los Almacenes de la Plaza de Puerto Cabello para que se halle en estado de defensa . . . cotejado con lo que a menester esta plaza para que se defienda durante tres meses," Puerto Cabello, June 22, 1772, AGI CAR 81.

<sup>a</sup>According to the engineers the slated beef that was sold was one-half bone. "Carne salada una arroba de ella por cada hombre en la semana segun manifesta la experiencia en este país, respecto de que las arrovas que se venden la mitad tienen de huezo."

<sup>b</sup>The amount given was 60 fanegas, and I used 1 fanega = 81.25 pounds.

<sup>c</sup>The unit was 300 botijuejas, which I used 1 botijueja = 1 cántara = 3.319 gallons.

aboard ship.<sup>50</sup> The only significant variations between their diets and that proposed for the army in Puerto Cabello in the 1770s was that the Venezuelan soldiers ate much more beef and drank much less wine.

Although the engineers were utilizing long-established patterns, their list was very similar to that of Mar6n who examined dietary patterns of the people of Caracas Province in 1774. He determined the average annual consumption of a person to be: maize bread (191.67 libras); cassava bread (200 libras); salted beef (325 libras); sugar (50 libras); salt (8.3 libras); cacao (23 libras); and beans (33.3 libras). The major differences between the two lists were the absence of wine, aguardiente, and olive oil from the Venezuelan diet, and the addition of cacao and sugar.<sup>51</sup>

A typical officer's diet could be gleaned from the engineers' list and that of Mar6n. Since the overwhelming majority of army officers were born in Spain or were sons of peninsular officers and dietary patterns are very difficult to break, wine and olive oil were probably part of their daily fare.<sup>52</sup> Cacao was consumed in Spain from the sixteenth century on--much of it Venezuelan--so there is good reason to believe this became part of their diet while stationed in the captaincy general.<sup>53</sup>

The army officer's salary allowed him to subsist at a level above minimum dietary requirements. A lieutenant

in Caracas earned 40 pesos, or 320 reales, monthly. If he apportioned a quarter of this to feed his family, he would have 20 reales per week to purchase food and drink. Waldron found a family of five could subsist on 6 reales per week as prices were fixed by the Cabildo for the two essential items, maize bread and salted beef.<sup>54</sup> This would leave the family considerable leeway in providing additional food and drink with the remaining 14 reales. For instance, with this amount the officer could purchase 20 pounds of sugar, 7 bottles of table wine, 7 quarts of vinegar, 41 pounds of domestic cheese, 7 pounds of imported ham, 7 pounds of almonds (with shells), 9 pounds of spaghetti (fideos), 2 pounds of cheese from Flanders, or 6 pounds of salted salmon.<sup>55</sup>

#### Miscellaneous Spending

The forty percent of the officer's salary remaining after rent and food could be spent on clothing, slaves household items, and miscellaneous goods and services. Field-grade officers, who earned a minimum of 100 pesos monthly, could perhaps have afforded to purchase land and equipment and grown cacao, sugar cane, or añil. But the vast majority of officers earned between 30 and 60 pesos, and therefore could only allocate from 12 to 24 pesos monthly to non-essential items. Naturally, there

were wide variations on choices for this discretionary spending between bachelors and heads of families.

Whether married or not one of the officer's most expensive items was clothing. All of the men serving in colonial Venezuela after the middle of the eighteenth century, from common soldiers to field marshals, had to pay for their uniforms. Regulations required a hat, undershirt, a dress shirt, jacket, pants, socks, shoes, belts, and a sword. Normally a new outfit was required every two years.<sup>56</sup> For officers reoutfitting was very expensive, costing about 30 pesos compared to 30 pesos for that of enlisted men. If he purchased a new uniform every other year he would average approximately 3 pesos monthly for this expenditure.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to his uniform an officer had to purchase civilian clothes for himself and his family.<sup>58</sup> In the 1760s and 1770s his would have cost between 15 and 20 pesos: shirts were 2-3 pesos, pants the same, socks 1-2 pesos, an ordinary hat 3-4 pesos, and a pair of shoes 7 pesos.<sup>59</sup> If a second lieutenant wanted to purchase a beaver hat he would have had to use all his discretionary money to pay the 12 pesos price.<sup>60</sup> For wives, dresses were as expensive as their uniforms, largely to elaborate embroidery. The wife of Captain Ordóñez had three dresses, at an average of 15 pesos for his clothing and 40 for a new dress.

Officers also could choose to spend some of their salary on slaves for domestic service, and nearly all did. According to the Frenchman Depons, who was very familiar with Venezuelan society, "An individual is judged rich in proportion to the number of slaves he supports."<sup>63</sup> Ordóñez, Albuquerque, and Sánchez each owned domestic slaves. Together they possessed 21 slaves: 8 adult males, 3 adult females, 4 boys, and 6 girls. Adult males were valued at an average of 240 pesos, the women 253 pesos, their male offspring 117 pesos, and the female children 155 pesos.<sup>64</sup> The officers serving in Venezuela from 1750 to 1810 who eventually died, retired, or transferred before the end of the colonial period spent an average of twenty years on active duty in the captaincy general.<sup>65</sup> Since for the most part they were not involved in agricultural production, the only slaves they would have had would have been in domestic service. At a minimum they would have perhaps purchased only two slaves, an adult male and an adult female. Their combined value, using the averages above, would have been 493 pesos, and if this amount were averaged for his twenty years service, this would have represented an expenditure of 2 pesos a month.

The 12 to 24 pesos monthly discretionary spending of a subaltern or captain would, therefore, be lessened by 8 pesos for items that could be considered essential--uniforms, civilian clothing, and slaves--but not necessary for

survival. The remaining 4 pesos for a second lieutenant and 16 pesos for a captain could be spent on a variety of goods and services, none of which would be "typical," but nevertheless were within the limits of the possible relative to his salary. If the officer had children, which was the norm, then he would have had even less to spend after housing, food, clothing, and slaves were provided.

If the officer purchased a house or rented an unfurnished one he would have had to buy a minimum of kitchen utensils and furniture. In the 1770s he could have purchased a dozen metal knives, forks, and spoons for 3 pesos, 4 plates for 11 pesos, and 4 glasses for 4 pesos. A large earthenware jug would have cost 10 pesos. To prepare the food he might have purchased a ladle for 7 pesos, a metal bowl for 10 pesos and 4 reales, a copper chocolate serving pot for 4 reales, a boiler for 4 reales, and a heavy copper pan for 10 pesos. An adequate dinner service and cooking utensils could be purchased, therefore, for approximately 50 pesos.<sup>66</sup>

In addition, the officer would have to purchase some furniture. He would need a table, which would be cedar, and if it measured 6 feet by 2 feet it would have cost from 3 to 4 pesos. Four stools around the table could be purchased for from 3 to 4 pesos for the set. A chair at each end of the table with straw cushions would

have cost 1 peso and 4 reales each. If he desired a bed, the cedar frame with cloth webbing would cost 20 pesos, and the six woolen cushions which served as the mattress would add 10 pesos. He could purchase a small trunk for from 6 to 8 pesos and two small mirrors for 2 pesos each. These items would total from 45 to 52 pesos; as with the kitchen items, less than a captain's monthly salary.<sup>67</sup>

If an officer wanted to add non-essential items or upgrade his initial purchases he could buy more expensive furniture and kitchen items. In Adjutant Sánchez's house there was a cedar wardrobe valued at 90 pesos, one of mahogany worth 200 pesos, and a desk with a drawer priced at 70 pesos. For his dinner service he had silver knives, forks, and spoons, worth 2 pesos and 4 reales each, and a large pitcher costing 50 pesos. He could also purchase a large table valued at 40 pesos, a large mirror worth 15 pesos, two pillowcases assessed at 9 pesos each, and two bedspreads, costing 60 and 48 pesos as those in the home of Captain Ordóñez.<sup>68</sup>

The wives of Sánchez, Albuquerque, and Ordóñez each owned hundreds of pesos worth of jewelry. Representative of the stones and relative values of rings were those of Juana Jacinta Martínez in Cumaná who in 1776 owned, along with other items, a diamond ring with two large and two small stones worth 40 pesos, one with a large topaz stone and two small diamonds assessed at 30 pesos, and one with

"some" emeralds valued at 4 pesos. In 1779 the gold and pearl necklaces owned by Josefa Sánchez in Maracaibo were valued at 3 and 5 pesos respectively in the division of property upon the death of her husband. Among the jewelry of the wife of Captain Ordóñez, were a gold and emerald pendant worth 4 pesos and a silver watch worth 50 pesos in 1784.<sup>69</sup>

One other army document added information as to what an officer could spend his salary on. Given the large number of slaves in the captaincy general there was little documentation concerning everyday expenses for labor. In 1755 Adjutant Sánchez journeyed to Caracas to obtain the yearly 10,000 pesos subsidy to support the army in Cumaná. In order to be reimbursed for his expenses he had to submit a list of his expenditures. Three expenses were of special interest and not listed in other documentation: he paid one-half reale per day for lighting his room; the barber charged him 4 reales per week for shaves and haircuts; and to have his clothes washed, which he did every two weeks, he paid 8 reales each time.<sup>70</sup>

During the period 1750 to 1810 prices rose for staples, while a comparison of the costs of imported goods in 1763, 1779, 1796, and 1810 showed little change.<sup>71</sup> The price of a head of cattle on the hoof in the llanos, which supplied Caracas with livestock products, doubled from 1 peso in 1764 to 2 pesos, and that of 25 pounds of salted



beef rose from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 reales during the same period.<sup>72</sup> The price of maize followed the same pattern: the price of a fanega climbed from 1 to 8 pesos at the turn of the century, and in 1810 leveled off at 4 pesos and 4 reales.<sup>73</sup>

The situation was apparently even worse in Cumaná during the first decade of the nineteenth century. All the officers stationed there in 1800 joined in a written protest to the crown about the cost of living. In their letter the officers wrote that owing to the paucity of goods it was "absolutely impossible to subsist with the decency corresponding to that of officers representing you (the king) elsewhere in the army." Because of the increase in the population, which they believed caused the scarcity, they found that prices had risen three hundred percent in twenty years, with little chance they would fall to previous levels.<sup>74</sup> In 1808 Alcalde Manuel Rubio reported that there had been for some time a shortage of fresh beef, and the citizens had to substitute pork.<sup>75</sup> The problems were compounded by the continual state of war from 1793 on which adversely affected traditional supply routes.<sup>76</sup>

#### Social Status

By their houses, diet, standard of living, salaries, and marriage patterns, regular army officers were representative of the white middle sectors of society. While their socioeconomic status was somewhat higher than the

majority of whites, they were not elites as they were excluded from the "top stratum in the domains of power, economy, and culture."<sup>77</sup> For the overwhelming majority of these men, the acquisition of wealth, political power, and/or high social status was unattainable. Furthermore, in order to maintain their middle sector affiliation vis-a-vis castas and poor whites, they were compelled to rely on the crown as guarantor of their socioeconomic position. But in an era of international crisis, especially from 1797 on, the metropolitan government was unable to insure their status, much less provide for upward mobility. Consequently, regular army officers in Venezuela, both criollos and peninsulares, turned from the crown to local elites in order to satisfy their economic, political, and social aspiration.

Only a few officers could be considered wealthy, and all of these either had their own capital or had high social status prior to their arrival in Venezuela. Regular army officers did not utilize their positions to acquire even modest fortunes. The example of Lieutenant Luis de Urrutia was typical. He was born in Murcia, became a cadet at the age of eighteen, received his commission four years later, and was a lieutenant when he died in 1781 at the age of forty-seven. In 1773, he married María Juliana Blanco y Plaza, one of eleven children of Mateo Blanco Ponte and Petronila de la Plaza who belonged to the letter gentry of

cacao growers in the Caucaagua Valley. During their seven years of marriage Urrutia's wife gave birth to five children, one of whom died in infancy. His total lifetime earnings were 10,560 pesos and when he died, he left no property upon which his family could subsist. Consequently, his widow and four children were forced to live on a small pension from church receipts.<sup>78</sup>

Nor did high rank assure an officer of wealth. In 1802 Brigadier Esteban Aymerich died after fifty-two years of service, half of them in Venezuela. He arrived in Venezuela in 1775 while a captain of Engineers, later served as commander in Puerto Cabello (1871-1787) and La Guaira (1787-1795), and ended his career in Spain after a short tour of duty on Trinidad Island. The value of his property at the time of his death was 2,920 pesos and 3 reales; consisting of eight slaves, some jewels, and a few pieces of furniture. His creditors were Martín de Iriarte, to whom he owed 1,365 pesos in back rent; his brother-in-law, who loaned him 1,400 pesos for his wife to live on while he was in Spain; and his daughter, who was owed 200 pesos for the sale of one of her slaves. Brigadier Aymerich, therefore, bequeathed his heirs debts of 45 pesos.<sup>79</sup>

Perhaps the only exception to the general rule that officers did not greatly improve their socioeconomic status was those stationed along the eastern frontier. Officers

assigned to the first permanent contingent in Guayana in the middle of the eighteenth century could obtain a considerable amount of wealth. Lieutenant Felix Farreras arrived in Venezuela in 1738 to participate in the conquests of the Upper Orinoco River in conjunction with missionary activities. In 1754 he was commissioned a second lieutenant to serve in the Presidio at Antigua Guayana and was garrisoned from 1764 until his death in 1776 at the new fort in Angostura. In 1761 he owned 11 slaves, a house, a few livestock, and a small farm where he grew sugar cane, maize, and plantains. Eight years later his property had grown to 24 slaves, 250 head of cattle, 14 horses, and 2 acres of land.<sup>80</sup>

Whether stationed in a frontier garrison or in the seat of the captaincy general, few regular army officers were not part of the political elite in colonial Venezuela. According to T.B. Bottomore, who sought to distinguish between general high status and the minority who actually rule any given society, the political elite "comprises those individuals who actually exercise power in a society at any given time."<sup>81</sup> A broad application of this definition to late colonial Venezuela would include two groups of political positions: those which had authority at the captaincy or provincial level, and those having only local power. The former were the captains general, governors of the provinces, and audiencia members. All of the governors

and captains general were military officers, but exercised essentially civilian functions and had little involvement in day-to-day military operations or command.

The political elite also included those serving in positions with local jurisdiction: cabildo members, commanders in La Guaira and Puerto Cabello, and the lieutenant justices, who were the governors' representatives in the towns. Regular army officers on active duty were forbidden by law from holding appointments to the cabildos. Eleven of the 487 officers who served in Venezuela from 1750 to 1810 held the position of commander in Puerto Cabello and La Guaira after the creation of the post in 1772 and 1776 respectively. Perhaps three times that number--no complete list exists in army records--were lieutenant justices prior to the initiation of the intendancy system in 1777. After that date the crown prohibited active duty officers from holding these posts. Therefore, although some army officers were minor members of the political elite through the third quarter of the century, after 1777 there were only two posts held by officers--the commanders in La Guaira and La Guaira--which would qualify them for inclusion in the political elite,<sup>82</sup>

If officers were neither wealthy nor had political power, they were set apart from the rest of society by legal status. The army was the defender of the nation and therefore its officers and men, who saw themselves as the

sine qua non of royal power, were afforded special honors, prestige, and privileges. But there was an essential distinction which must be taken into account when discussing status. Throughout the captaincy general white militia officers had a higher socioeconomic status than those serving in the regular army.

The white militia officer corps in Caracas Province, for example, was composed of the wealthiest and most politically powerful members of society. Included were representatives of the Tovar, Bolívar, Herrera, Blanco, Toro, Pacheco, Aristeguieta, Gedler, Ibarra, Rada, Plaza, Monasterios, Palacios, and Ponte families.<sup>83</sup> If one were male, white, and wealthy, it was an a priori obligation to serve as a militia officer. To these elite Venezuelan families the combination of wealth, high status, and militia service was just as natural as was the blend of poverty, low status, and avoidance of service to those at the bottom of the social scale.

Regular army officers, on the other hand, aspired to the status held by white militia officers, which was held independently of their army connection. Nevertheless, regular army officers enjoyed special honors, privileges, and prestige, such as special courts under the fuero militar, uniforms, the right to retirement and Montepío benefits, and royal protection in case of unfavorable treatment by local authorities. In the absence of opportunities to

obtain wealth or political power, regular army officers placed increased importance on these prerogatives as the sole gauge of professional and social mobility.

Since Spain was at war for most of the 1790 to 1810 era, the crown was increasingly unable to insure that regular army officers maintained the socioeconomic status they believed themselves entitled to, much less a promise of upward social mobility. An officer's duties were what they had always been, he received the same pay, floundered for years as a subaltern, married a woman from a middle sector family, lived in the same style house, ate the same food, and purchased much the same things as did an officer at mid-century. But from 1793 on, beginning with the war with France and greatly exacerbated by the renewal of hostilities with England in 1797, priorities of metropolitan officials naturally focused upon military priorities in Spain. The colonial Venezuelan army, always of peripheral concern, was largely ignored.

When the crown failed to insure at least the maintenance of their socioeconomic status, regular army officers searched for a new patron. Without great wealth, political power, or high social standing, these men turned to the local elites for leadership and rewards. At the same time, the criollo aristocracy in Caracas, from the time of Napoleon's invasion of the peninsula, began to fill the void left by the abdications of Charles IV and Ferdinand

VII. The grandes cacaos needed allies if they were to enforce their hegemony over the outlying provinces. The desires of the officers and the designs of the Caracas elite merged on April 19, 1810, when the former decided to take over control of the government in the name of Ferdinand VII.

#### Notes to Chapter V

<sup>1</sup>Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th, vol. 1: The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Graziano Gasparini, La casa colonial venezolana (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1962), pp. 56-65; Francois Depons, Travels in Parts of South America During the Years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804 (London: J.G. Barnard, 1806), p. 99; and Santiago Gerardo Suárez, Las fuerzas armadas Venezolanas en la colonia (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1979), p. 430.

<sup>3</sup>"Visita General de la Gobernacion de Cumaná (1761) por el Coronel Don Joseph Diguja Villagomez . . ." Cumaná, 1761, AGI CAR 201, folio 20; Kathleen Waldron, "Public Land Policy in Colonial Caracas," Hispanic American Historical Review 61 (May 1981):262-65; and ibid., "A Social History of a Primate City: The Case of Caracas, 1750-1810," Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1977, pp. 161, and 183-84.

<sup>4</sup>Enrique Núñez, La ciudad de los techos rojos (Caracas: Tipografia Vargas, 1947-1948), p. 122.

<sup>5</sup>Waldron, "Primate City," pp. 159-60.

<sup>6</sup>"Visita del Gobernador," Caracas, September 30, 1773, in Suárez, Fuerzas, p. 201.



<sup>7</sup>Miguel Acosta Saignes, "Materiales de construcción y precios," Estudio de Caracas, 2 vols. (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1967), II:704-705.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 706-709.

<sup>9</sup>Gasparini, Casa colonial, pp. 56-65; and Agustín Millares Carlo, comp., Archivo del Registro Principal de Maracaibo; Protocolos de los Antiguos Escribanos (1790-1836), Índice y Extractos (Maracaibo: Centro Histórico del Zulia, 1964), p. 147.

<sup>10</sup>"Visita General," Cumaná, 1761, AGI CAR 201, folio 20.

<sup>11</sup>"Inventario de Capitan Manuel Centurion," Guayana, December 28, 1766, AGI CAR 866.

<sup>12</sup>Acosta, "Materiales," pp. 708-709.

<sup>13</sup>Núñez, Techos rojos, p. 137.

<sup>14</sup>Walter Dupony, ed., Sir Walter Ker Porter's Diary, 1825-1842 (Caracas: Editorial Arte, 1966), pp. 40-41; Gasparini, Casa colonial, pp. 127-133; and Depons, Travels, p. 93.

<sup>15</sup>Waldron, "Primate City," p. 187; and ibid., "Land Policy," p. 273.

<sup>16</sup>Núñez, Techos rojos, p. 122.

<sup>17</sup>Millares Carlo, Protocolos, pp. 102-103, and 129.

<sup>18</sup>Memorial of Juan Burguillos, Caracas, June 7, 1774, AGI CAR 82.

<sup>19</sup>Memorial of Alejandro Cordóñez, Cumaná, June 11, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

<sup>20</sup>Waldron, "Public Policy," p. 273; and Montepio Account Records, Caracas, 1795, AGI CAR 484. In the 1790s there were fourteen widows receiving pensions, eight living in the Cathedral parish and the other six in Altagracia. While the factor of four is by no means true for all cases it points to officers as residing in residences of the middle sector.

<sup>21</sup>Acosta, "Materiales," p. 715.

<sup>22</sup>Memorial of Ordóñez, Cumaná, June 11, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

23 Ibid.

24 "Testimonio de la Cuenta, División, Partición . . . de los bienes . . . de Juana Jacinta Martínez de Gordon," Cumaná, October 5, 1776, AGI CAR 129.

25 Ibid.

26 "Cuentas de division y particion . . . de los bienes que quedaron por el fallecimiento del Capitan de Milicias Don Manuel de Cispuria," Maracaibo, December 16, 1779, AGI CAR 87.

27 Waldron, "Primate City," p. 187.

28 Memorial of Diego Ufano, La Guaira, September 1, 1778, AGI CAR 84; and Memorial of Miguel and José Ufano, La Guaira, June 22, 1789, AGI CAR 113.

29 For the difficulties in using ration records and making the transition from diet to nutrition, see: John C. Super, "Sources and Methods for the Study of Historical Nutrition in Latin America," Historical Methods 14 (1981): 22-30.

30 Waldron, "Primate City," pp. 243-249.

31 Agustín Marón, "Relacion Historico-Geografica de la Provincia de Venezuela" (1775), in Antonio Arellano Moreno, comp., Documentos para la historia encomica en la época colonial (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1970), p. 446.

32 "Visita General de la Gobernación de Cumaná . . . por el Coronel Don Joseph Diguja Villagomez" (1761), folios 7-9, AGI CAR 201.

33 José Luis de Cisneros, "Descripción Geografica de la Provincia de Venezuela" (1764), in Tomas Polanco Martínez, Historia Economica Venezolana (Caracas: Editorial "Ancora," 1950), p. 130; and Hussey, Caracas Company, p. 188.

34 "Relación que demuestra los efectos que faltan en los Almacenes de la Plaza de Puerto Cabello para que se halle en estado de defensa . . . cotejado con lo que a menester esta plaza para que se defienda durante tres meses," Puerto Cabello, June 22, 1772, AGI CAR 81; Marón, "Relación," in Documentos, p. 448; "Visita General de Cumaná," AGI CAR 201; Joaquín Moreno de Mendoza to Captain General, La Guaira, May 2, 1786, in Suárez, Instituciones, p. 241; Robert Semple, "Bosquejo del estado actual de Caracas incluyendo un viaje por La Victoria y Valencia hasta Puerto Cabello,

1810-1811," trans. by José Nucete Sardi, in Tres Testigos Europeos de la Primera Republica (Caracas: Ediciones de la Presidencia de la Republica, 1974), pp. 35 and 55; and Waldron, "Primate City," pp. 243-249.

35 Marón, "Relacion," p. 447; Semple, "Bosquejo," pp. 35, and 55-56; "Visita de Cumaná" (1761), AGI CAR 201; Hussey, Caracas Company, p. 188; Waldron, "Primate City," pp. 243-254; and Cisneros, "Descripción" (1764), in Polanco Martínez, p. 131.

36 "Visita General de Cumaná" (1761), AGI CAR 201.

37 "Testimonio de informaciones sumaria de las escases de Carnes que hay en esta Provincia de Cumaná y Causas de donde procede instruida de oficio por el Señor Alcalde Orinario Don Manuel Rubio," Cumaná, February 12, 1808, AGI CAR 181.

38 Semple, "Bosquejo," pp. 55-56.

39 Cisneros, "Descripcion," p. 131.

40 Ibid., pp. 130-131; Semple, "Bosquejo," pp. 27, 37, and 55-56; Marón, "Relación," p. 448; Waldron, "Primate City," pp. 243-249; Visita (1761), AGI CAR 201; and Hussey, Caracas Company, p. 188.

41 Marón, "Relación," p. 448; Semple, "Bosquejo," pp. 55-56, and Visita (1761), AGI CAR 201.

42 Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Vol. I: The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible, trans. by Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), p. 232; Hussey, Caracas Company, p. 188; and Polanco Martínez, p. 129.

43 Marón, p. 448; Semple, p. 44, Cisneros, pp. 130-131; and Visita, AGI CAR 201.

44 Semple, p. 35.

45 "Cargamento de la Goleta Americana 'Tres Hermanas,'" Gazeta de Caracas, September 21, 1810.

46 Super, "Sources," p. 25.

47 Marón, "Relacion," pp. 448-452.

48 Earl J. Hamilton, "Wages and Subsistence on Spanish Treasure Ships, 1503-1660," The Journal of Political Economy 37 (August 1929): 430-450.

49."Relación," Puerto Cabello, June 22, 1772, AGI CAR 82.

50."Extracto de la gente efectiva que ha tenido este ano por al Plana Mayor Compañía del Presidio y las dos de que se compone las guarniciones de las fortificaciones de la Barra con expreción de las cantidades que persivieren por razon de sus sueldos para su manutencion segun consta de las relaciones corrientes," Maracaibo, 1748, AGI CAR 146.

51.Hamilton, p. 434.

52.Marón, pp. 449-452.

53.Waldron, "Primate City," pp. 253-254; and "Extracto," Maracaibo, 1748, AGI CAR 146.

54.Ibid.

55."Precios que se proponen al senor Don Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga . . . por el Factor Principal de la Real Compania Cuipuzcoana Don Jose de Amenabar, para venta de los generos, efectos, frutos y viveres de ella . . .," Caracas, 1779, in Boletín del Archivo Nacional 106 (September 1941): 105-117; and "Cargamento de la Goleta America Tres Hermanas," Gazeta de Caracas, September 21, 1810.

56."Relación del Vestuario de Pano Azul, que ha venido de Espana," Caracas, February 28, 1775, AGI CAR 850; and, Manuel González to Gálvez, Caracas, July 30, 1785, AGI CAR 873.

57.In 1748 in Maracaibo, the last year in which the crown paid for the uniforms, an officer's cost 83 pesos, a sergeant's 47 pesos, and a soldier's 22 pesos. "Extracto de la gente efectiva," Maracaibo, 1748, AGI CAR 146.

58. Depons, Travels, p. 35.

59."Regulación de precios durante la guerra de 1779," pp. 106-117; and Núñez, Techos rojos, p. 128.

60."Regulación de precios durante la guerra de 1779," pp. 106-117.

61.Memorial of Alejandro Ordóñez, Caracas, June 11, 1786, AGI CAR 89.

62."Cuentas de division, y particion . . . de los bienes que quedaron por el fallecimiento del Capitan de Milicias Don Manuel José de Aispurua," Maracaibo, December 16, 1779, AGI CAR 87.

<sup>63</sup>Depons, Travels, p. 101. Every census and property list seen by the author that listed the property of officers included slaves.

<sup>64</sup>Memorial of Ordóñez, Caracas, June 11, 1786, AGI CAR 89; "Cuentas de división . . . del Capitan Aispurua," Maracaibo, December 16, 1779, AGI CAR 87; and "Tetimonio de la Cuenta, División, Partición, y adjudicación de los bienes que por su fallecimiento dejó Juana Jacienta Martínez de Gordon," Cumana, October 5, 1776, AGI CAR 129.

<sup>65</sup>See Appendix V.

<sup>66</sup>Memorial of Ordóñez, Caracas, June 11, 1786, AGI CAR 89; "Cuentas de división . . . del Capitan Aispurua," Maracaibo, December 16, 1779, AGI CAR 87; and "Testimonio de la Cuenta . . . dejó Juana Martínez." Cumaná, October 5, 1776, AGI CAR 129.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.; "Precios que se propone . . . para venta de los generos," Boletín del Archivo Nacional 106 (September 1941): 105-117; and "Cargamento de la Goleta America Tres Hermanas," Gazeta de Caracas, September 21, 1810.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>"Cuenta y razon jurada que formo yo Don Dionisio Sánchez Ramírez de Arellano ayudante maior de esta plaza," Cumaná, December 1, 1755, AGI CAR 862.

<sup>71</sup>"Precios que se propone . . . para venta de los generos," Boletín del Archivo Nacional 106 (September 1941): 106-117; "Cargamento de la Goleta America Tres Hermanas," Gazeta de Caracas, September 21, 1810; and "Noticias sobre la agricultura en Maracaibo, arte y comercio y precios corrientes por Antonio Soublette," Maracaibo, July 1, 1796, in Documentos para la Historia Economica en la Epoca Colonial, Viajes e Informes (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1970), pp. 511-512.

<sup>72</sup>Waldron, "Primate City," p. 259; Federico Brito Figueroa, Estructura economica, p. 389; and "Cargamento de la Goleta America Tres Hermanas," Gazeta de Caracas, September 21, 1810.

<sup>73</sup>Cisneros, "Descripcion," 1764, in Polanco Martínez, p. 130; Francisco Depons, Viaje a la parte oriental de tierra firme en la America Meridional, 2 vols., trans. by Enrique Planchart (Caracas: Banco Central de Venezuela,

1960), II:125-126; and Waldron, "Primate City," pp. 253-254 and 282-283.

<sup>74</sup>Memorial of Los Capitanes Juan Antonio Heredia y Sebastián de Espinosa, el Ayudante Mayor Francisco de Sucre, los Tenientes Martín Coronado y Juan de Flores y los Subtenientes Pedro Sánchez, Pedro Flores y Domingo Urbanaja, Cumaná, May, 1800, AGI CAR 96.

<sup>75</sup>Testimonio de informaciones sumaria de la excases de Carnes que hay en esta provincia de Cumaná y causas de donde procede instruida de oficio por el Señor Alcalde Ordinario Don Manuel Rubio, Cumaná, February 12, 1808, AGI CAR 181.

<sup>76</sup>Waldron, "Primate City," p. 255.

<sup>77</sup>Magnus Morner, "Economic Factors and Stratification in Colonial Spanish America with Special Regards to Elites," HAHR 63 (May 1983): 338.

<sup>78</sup>Service Record of Luis de Urrutia, Caracas, December 1774; Manuel González to Gálvez, Caracas, October 20, 1784, AGI CAR 87; Juan Guillelmi to Antonio Valdés, Caracas, April 30, 1789, AGI CAR 113; and Ferry, "Cacao and Kindred," pp. 214-216.

<sup>79</sup>Service Record of Esteban Aymerich, Madrid, December 1774, AGS GM 5837; and Interrogatorio of María del Rosario Varas y Varnola, La Guaira, December 2, 1802, AGI CAR 103.

<sup>80</sup>Mateo Gual to Arriaga, Cumaná, April 30, 1755, AGI CAR 125; Service Record of Félix Farréras, Guayana, November 30, 1771, AGI CAR 138; "Primera Pieza" (1761), AGI CAR 201; and "Padron del veziendario de la Ciudad de Guaiana," Guayana, January 29, 1769, AGI CAR 136.

<sup>81</sup>T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (London: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 14.

<sup>82</sup>See Appendix VIII.

<sup>83</sup>See the Service Records of the Blanco Militia Officers in Caracas, Valencia, and the Valles de Aragua, 1787-1800, AGS GM 7293-7295; and especially "Compañía de Nobles Aventurereros Acavallo de la Ciudad de Santiago de León de Caracas; Formada de sus hijos Nobles que passa revista," July 25, 1768, AGI CAR 850.

CHAPTER VI  
EPILOGUE: OFFICERS AFTER 1810

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the regular Spanish army in the provinces of Venezuela was not a unified corporation upon which the crown could rely. In fact it was unlikely it would have been able to oppose effectively any sustained internal or external military threat. The army commanders in the captaincy general shared characteristics with those in Spain, whose officers were described by Minister Melchor de Jovellanos as ". . . skilled in the military fatigues of curling their hair, bleaching their uniforms, regulating their paces to the tune of a country dance, (and) expending powder in salutes in the meadows."<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in 1806 when Francisco de Miranda arrived along the Venezuelan coast to overthrow the royal government, the Caracas Cabildo wrote to Spanish officials in Coro informing them that it would be foolish to expect any viable reinforcements because ". . . Not a single officer in the regiment of Caracas itself has ever been under fire. They are all sabre-rattlers who think of nothing but dressing and eating well."<sup>2</sup> In 1810 the regular army in Venezuela was grossly undermanned, poorly

disciplined, and, perhaps most importantly, commanded by an officer corps rife with dissension.<sup>3</sup>

The disenchantment of regular army officers was, in part, the result of their inability to improve their socio-economic status. The overwhelming majority was unable to receive promotion above the rank of captain and salaries did not keep pace with the cost of living. As such they shared characteristics with other members of the middle sectors who became increaingly disenchanted with the political status quo.<sup>4</sup> Owing to the lack of corporate unity, however, the army units in Venezuela hesitated to take action on their own, there would be no military coup. Instead the officers and men stationed in Venezuela awaited the call of local civilian elites to provide leadership and direction to redress their grievances.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century regular army officers remained loyal to the crown while local urban elites debated their reaction to events on the peninsula. None of the officers supported Francisco de Miranda's landing of 1806. Two years later, when news arrived of Napoleon's invasion and his brother's accession to the throne of Spain, officers reacted calmly to the actions of the Caracas Cabildo whose members declared their loyalty to Ferdinand VII.<sup>5</sup> This did not indicate indifference, but instead that squabbles between pro-French, pro-Ferdinand, and pro-Independence propogandists did not



directly address their grievances, especially regarding pay and promotion. They could not expect relief through the actions of their commander, Colonel Juan de Casas, who as interim captain general tried to steer through the quagmire of political factions. Nor were they reassured by the arrival in 1809 of the new captain general, Vicente Emparán, who was aloof from military concerns.<sup>6</sup>

The inaction of the regular officers turned to support for the pro-Ferdinand faction beginning on April 19, 1810, when members of the Caracas Cabildo called themselves into open session and forced Emparán to resign. Their purpose was to reclaim control of the captaincy general from the crown which had usurped many of their commercial prerogatives. With token representation from the clergy, the people, the pardos, and the army they reconstituted themselves as the Junta Conservador de los Derechos de Fernando VII. By doing so they remained nominally subject to the abdicated king, but since he was imprisoned in France they were able to begin the transition to independence which they declared the following year. One of the Junta's first acts was to address the complaints of regular army officers by ordering salary increases and promoting everyone who had been proposed by the royal army command for vacancies during the previous decade. Although done in strict accordance with royal regulations, these acts marked the end of the crown's role as the automatic patron of the

regular army officers stationed in Caracas Province.<sup>7</sup> After these tentative steps, the Caracas Junta moved to consolidate its position as leader of all Venezuela.

Reactions of political leaders in the four peripheral provinces of the captaincy general to events in Caracas varied. Elites in Cumaná and on Margarita Island recognized the supremacy of Caracas, while in Guayana and Maracaibo they remained loyal to factions in Spain.<sup>8</sup> The regular army officers in these areas, just as had been the case in Caracas, followed local civilian leaders as to whether to declare loyalty to Caracas or Spain. The most important factor in determining whether or not an officer decided to remain loyal to Spain in 1810 was the location of his duty station.

A thorough search of military correspondence, which was very sporadic after 1803, allows the identification of sixty-one regular army officers who were on active duty in Caracas Province immediately preceding the events of April 1810. From these records, complemented by primary and secondary sources concerning the wars of independence, the roles of fifty-four of the officers after 1810 can be determined. Their names, ranks, birthplaces, and roles in the wars for independence are listed in Appendix VIII. Due to the bias of the documentation toward those who had a wartime role, there were perhaps thirty officers for which no record has been located. It is logical that many of

these remained at least nominally loyalist, or at least did not openly support the actions against Spain. Others may have been among the estimated 20,000 who died in Caracas as a result of the earthquake of March 26, 1812. Nevertheless, for the fifty-four whose actions are known, it is possible to discern common characteristics.<sup>9</sup>

The roles of these regular army officers in the early war for independence (to 1812) can be analyzed according to rank and birthplace. Generally, officers with the rank of lieutenant colonel and above remained loyal to Spain while majors and below became patriots. In regard to birthplace, with the exception of the six officers above the rank of major--all peninsulars--there was no significant difference between Americans and Europeans concerning loyalty. There were ten general and field-grade officers identified--three brigadiers and colonels, three lieutenant colonels, and four majors--on duty in April 1810 in Caracas Province. Five remained loyal to Spain, four became patriots, and the other retired. There were nine captains identified, of whom eight were criollos and the other a peninsular; eight became patriots, and one retired. Finally, there were thirty-four subalterns, nineteen criollos and fifteen peninsulars; only three remained loyal to Spain, although Lieutenants Antonio Guzmán and José Martí later turned against the patriots in 1812.

The lone criollo loyalist had long family ties to Maracaibo, whose elites did not turn against the crown until 1821.<sup>11</sup> The case of this city was especially significant in that the officer corps and soldiers always had a higher percentage of criollos than elsewhere in the captaincy generally and in 1810 was over ninety-five percent American-born. Nevertheless, this force remained loyal to Spain for over a decade. This loyalty stemmed from three causes: first, Maracaibo elites feared domination from Caracas; second, they thought they could be protected by royal reinforcements from Havana and Puerto Rico; and, third, the man appointed to assume the post of captain general to direct operations against the caraqueños, Fernando Miyares, was an excellent officer who had long service in Maracaibo.<sup>12</sup> The salient characteristic here, as elsewhere relating to loyalty to Spain, was not birth-place, but duty station.

Regular army officers elsewhere in the captaincy general also initially followed local leadership. Support for the Caracas elites was especially strong in Cumaná, where only two officers--both field-grade peninsulares--remained loyal to Spain.<sup>13</sup> The few officers on Margarita Island were also tied to the caraqueña junta. Conversely, those officers serving in Guayana and Maracaibo recognized the authority of factions in Spain. By July 5, 1811, when the Caracas elites declared their independence from Spain,

the dynamics of the wars determined to whom elites and officers would ally themselves.

The colonial army of Venezuela, as opposed to individual components, did not exist after the promotions and reorganization initiated by the Caracas Cabildo in April 1810. The symbolic coup de grade was the appointment of the Conde de Tovar, a criollo, by that body to the post of commander of all forces in Caracas Province. For the first time regular army officers had a local patron and leader connected directly to the local power structure. The colonial legacy of the army in Venezuela was that if officers were not paid according their perceived status, offered the possibility of promotion, and given special honors and privileges, they they would change loyalties to a patron who could fulfill their desires.

#### Notes to Chapter VI

<sup>1</sup>Eric Christiansen, The Origins of Military Power in Spain, 1800-1854 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Salvador de Madariaga, Bolívar (London: Hollis and Carter, 1952), p. 95.

<sup>3</sup>"Organización militar para la defensa y seguridad de la provincia de Caracas; Propuesta por la Junta de Guerra, aprobada y mandada ejecutar por la Suprema, conservadora de los derechos del Sr. D. Fernando VII en Venezuela," in Las fuerzas armadas de Venezuela en el Siglo XIX, 6 vols. (Caracas: Presidencia de la República, 1963), I:20-21.

<sup>4</sup>Juan Manuel de Cajigal, Memorias del mariscal Don Juan Manuel de Cajigal sobre la revolución de Venezuela (Caracas: Archivo General de la Nación, 1960), p. 95.

<sup>5</sup>John Lombardi, Venezuela; The Search for Order, The Dream of Progress (New York: Oxford Press, 1982), pp. 123-126.

<sup>6</sup>Cajigal, Memorias, pp. 29-30.

<sup>7</sup>Gazeta de Caracas, May 18, 1810.

<sup>8</sup>Lombardi, Venezuela, pp. 125-126.

<sup>9</sup>See Appendix VIII.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Service Record of Francisco Paula de Albuquerque, Caracas, December 1805, Hojas militares, I:23-24; and Pay Records of Monteverde's Expeditionary Force, Coro, September 13, to November '8, 1813, AGI CAR 889.

<sup>12</sup>Madariaga, Bolívar, p. 136.

<sup>13</sup>The loyalists were Miguel Correa y Guevara and Lorenzo Fernández de la Hoz. Patriots included Martín Coronado, Juan José de Flores, Francisco González Moreno, Vicente González, Carlos Guinet (Winet), Nicolas Piñero, Manuel Ruiz, José Salcedo Vallasenor, Pedro Sánchez Gordon, Diego de Vallenilla, and Manuel Villapol. Guinet, Piñero, Salcedo, and Villapol were peninsulars and the others criollos. See Appendix I and Francisco Javier Yanes, Historia de la Provincia de Cumaná, 1810-1821 (Caracas: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1949).

APPENDIX I  
OFFICERS SERVING IN VENEZUELA,  
1750-1810; WITH YEARS ON ACTIVE DUTY  
IN THE CAPTAINCY GENERAL, BOTH BEFORE AND  
AFTER RECEIVING THEIR COMMISSIONS

I. Caracas, Officers  
Arriving Between 1749 and 1768

1. AGREDA, MANUEL, 1740-76\*\*
2. AGUDO, ALONSO, 1749-56
3. ALVAREZ, JOSE, 1751-60
4. ALVAREZ, MANUEL, 1751-64
5. AMPHOUX, BARTOLOME, 1767-69
6. ANGULO, ANTONIO, 1751-70
7. APONTE, MANUEL, 1751-75
8. ARAUJO, PEDRO, 1749-65
9. ARREDONDO, PABLO, 1751-56
10. AYALA, MANUEL, 1949-83\*\*
11. BAULEN Y PONTE, DIEGO TOMAS, 1744-69
12. BOSI, JOSE, 1758-66, to Guayana
13. BOTANA, ANDRES, 1749-72
14. CABRERA, JOSE, 1757-67 (here two months, April and May)
15. CANACABES, FRANCISCO, 1749-65
16. CANAVERAL, FRANCISCO, 1756-72
17. CASTRO, SR., NICOLAS, 1751-68\*\*
18. CENTURION, MANUEL, 1760-66, to governorship of Guayana\*\*
19. CEVALLOS, JUAN REVOLLAR, 1751-66
20. CORONEL, FRANCISCO, 1751-59
21. CONCHA, TOMAS DE LA, 1760-78
22. CORDOBA Y VERDE, RAFAEL, 1749-67
23. DALMACES, JOSE, 1749-90\*\*
24. DIOS, EUSEBIO, 1749-56
25. DIOS, JUAN, 1751-56
26. ESCURPI, SALVADOR, 1749-79
27. FLORENZA, JOSE, 1757-61
28. GARCES, JOSE, 1751-54
29. GARCIA, JOSE, 1749-54
30. GAYANGOS, Y LASCARI, JUAN, 1736-62\*\*
31. GONZALEZ, FRANCISCO, 1751-97
32. GUAL Y PUEYO, MATEO, 1740-77\*\*
33. HERRERA, SEBASTIAN, 1751-72
34. HUARTE, JUAN, 1751-72

35. LIRA, JUAN F., 1757-97
36. LLAMAS, PEDRO FRANCISCO, 1749-72
37. MANRIQUE, SR., PEDRO, 1749-70\*\*
38. MANZANO, ANTONIO, 1765-72
39. MARTINEZ, GERONIMO, 1751-65
40. MATOS, JOSE, 1749-78\*\*
41. MAZO, ANDRES, 1751-69
42. MEDINA, ANTONIO, 1766-84
43. MORAGREGA, PASQUAL, 1749-69
44. MORALES, FELIPE, 1751-56
45. MORENO DE MENDOZA, JOAQUIN, 1740-62, to Guayana,  
returned 1766-86\*\*
46. MUNOZ, JOSE, 1749-55, to Maracaibo
47. MUNOZ, SALVADOR, 1749-80, to Maracaibo\*\*
48. NANCLARES, FRANCISCO, 1740-64
49. NEBOT, RAFAEL, 1749-55, to Maracaibo\*\*
50. NEGRETE, ANTONIO, 1751-69
51. PALANDRI, MANUEL, 1761-65
52. PALLAS, TOMAS, 1758-60
53. PEDROSA, AGUSTIN, 1757-69
54. PEINADO, JUAN, 1751-83
55. PEINADO, RAMON, 1751-79
56. PELAEZ, JUAN A., 1751-61
57. PINEDA, JOAQUIN, 1752-88
58. PONCE, GREGORIO, 1729-93\*\*
59. PUCHE, ANTONIO, 1751-56
60. RAMOS, JUAN, 1749-54
61. ROMANA, JUAN DE LA, 1758-99
62. RONCALI, JUAN M., 1765-63\*\*
63. ROO, PEDRO, 1756-99
64. ROSA, ANTONIO, 1740-63
65. SALAS, JUAN, 1749-88\*\*
66. SAN JUAN, JACINTO, 1740-61
67. SOLIVELLAS, LORENZO, 1749-61
68. TELLO, FERNANDO JUNGUERAS, 1753-58
69. THIAY, CLAUDIO, 1757-83
70. UCLES, JUAN, 1751-65
71. URRUTIA, LUIS, 1753-81
72. URTAZUN, RAMON, 1751-61
73. VALDES, JUAN, 1766-83, from Guayana\*\*
74. VARGAS MALDONADO, PEDRO, 1749-66
75. VASQUEZ, JUAN A., 1751-99\*\*
76. VELA, JOSE, 1749-65
77. VELASCO, JOSE TIO, 1767-72

II. Caracas, Officers Arriving  
Between 1769 and 1790

78. ALCOVER, ANTONIO, 1771-91
79. ALDAO, MANUEL, 1766-86



80. ALVARADO, ALVARO, 1766-89
81. ANDRADA VANDERWILDE, JUAN ANTONIO, 1787-1802
82. ARCE, FRANCISCO, 1767-81, to governorship of  
Maracaibo\*\*
83. AREVALO, JUAN, 1770-83
84. ARROYO, LORENZO, 1771-74
85. AYALA, ANTONIO, 1773-98
86. AYALA, JUAN PABLO, 1782-1810
87. AYALA, JR., MANUEL, 1776-92
88. AYMERICH, ESTEBAN, 1775-95, to Trinidad\*\*
89. BAQUERIZO, JOAQUIN, 1771-83
90. BARRAGAN, LUIS, 1767-79
91. BEAMUD, MANUEL, 1771-94
92. BELLAGARDE, JOSE, 1771-90
93. BERBEN, SIMON, 1766-85
94. BRIAS, MANUEL, 1773-76
95. BURGUILLOS, JUAN, 1767-88
96. BUROZ, EVARISTO, 1777-89
97. CABALLERO, TOMAS, 1753-89
98. CAMPINAS, FERNANDO, 1765-95
99. CARDO, ANTONIO, 1785-95
100. CARMONA, JUAN MIGUEL, 1778-96
101. CARRION, JUAN, 1768-94
102. CASADO, AGUSTIN, 1767-83, to Maracaibo\*\*
103. CASAS Y TARGA, JUAN, 1772-1810\*\*
104. CASTRO, JR., NICOLAS, 1776-1810\*\*
105. CASTRO Y ARAOZ, JOSE, 1775-77
106. CLAVIJO, FRANCISCO, 1767-73
107. COMARCA, GABRIEL, 1749-87
108. CONCHA, AGUSTIN, 1781-1800
109. CONCHA, JOSE LUCAS, 1783-84
110. DALMACES, FRANCISCO, 1767-91
111. DALMACES, MANUEL, 1767-97
112. ESPELIUS, JOSE ANOTNIO, 1700-76
113. ESQUIVEL, JOSE, 1767-91
114. FERNANDEZ, JOSE MARIA, 1771-1810
115. FERNANDEZ, MATIAS, 1766-87
116. FERNANDEZ DE LIRA, JOSE, 1768-97
117. FERNANDEZ Y TORRES, MANUEL, 1771-90
118. FERROL, IGNACIO, 1767-74
119. FRAGA, PEDRO, 1767-77
120. FUENTES, ANTONIO, 1771-80
121. GARCIA, AGUSTIN, 1778-1810
122. GARCIA DE LA HUERTA, MANUEL, 1767-87
123. GARCIA DE SENA, RAMON, 1772-1809
124. GAZARA, FRANCISCO FERMIN, 1767-92
125. GONGORA Y ESPIN, ILDEFONSO, 1767-89
126. GONZALEZ, LORENZO, 1767-(1900)
127. GONZALEZ DAVILA, ANDRES, 1781-83
128. GONZALEZ DAVILA, MIGUEL, 1773-87\*\*
129. GUADA, MIGUEL, 1770-89, to Maracaibo
130. GUAL, JOSE IGNACIO, 1764-81

131. GUAL, MANUEL, 1764-96
132. GUARDIA, JUAN ANGEL DE LA, 1767-85, to Trinidad,  
returned to Caracas, 1797-(1809)
133. GUILLELMI, ANTONIO, 1787-96\*\*
134. GUTIERREZ, JOSE DIAZ, 1770-96, to Cumaná
135. JACOT, FRANCISCO, 1785-1810\*\*
136. LANDAETA, BLAS, 1765-96
137. LAZO, MIGUEL, 1778-85
138. LLANOS, FRANCISCO, 1767-74, retired, re-enlisted and  
served 1792-1803
139. LOPEZ, BERNARDINO, 1774-91
140. LOPEZ, DIEGO, 1771-97
141. LOPEZ, IGNACIO, 1785-(1788)\*\*\*
142. LOPEZ, JUAN MARTIN, 1779-84
143. MACHARD, JUAN FRANCISCO, 1775-87
144. MALINDO, SIMON, 1766-(1786)
145. MANDIA, NICOLAS, 1790-1790 (died 14 days after  
arrival)
146. MANRIQUE, JR., PEDRO, 1783-1810
147. MANSO, ROQUE, 1771-97
148. MARAVER, JOSE, 1767-84
149. MARIN, JOSE, 1769-84
150. MARMION, SR., MIGUEL, 1769-75, to Cumaná\*\*
151. MARQUEZ DE VALENZUELA, PEDRO, from Maracaibo
152. MARTINEZ, BLAS, 1763-99
153. MARTINEZ, MIGUEL, 1767-1801
154. MARTINEZ, TIRSO, 1751-(1790)
155. MASEGNEN, DOMINGO, 1784-(1790)
156. MATOS, IGNACIO, 1779-1810
157. MATOS, MANUEL, 1777-96.
158. MAULEON, RAFAEL, 1784-(1803)
159. MELLID, FRANCISCO, 1770-93
160. MIYARES, JOSE, 1786-1802
161. MIYARES GONZALEZ, FERNANDO, 1779-86, to governorship  
of Maracaibo
162. MOLINA, DOMINGO, 1767-69
163. MOMPOAN, FRANCISCO, 1788-93
164. MONTESINOS, JUAN, 1751-86
165. MONTEVERDE, DIEGO, 1763-83
166. MORENO, ANTONIO, 1767-1810
167. MORENO DE MENDOZA, MANUEL, 1790-1810\*\*
168. MOYANO, NICOLAS, 1749-87
169. MUNOZ, BALTAZAR, 1767-85
170. MUNOZ, ISIDRO, 1767-70
171. MUROS, BERNARDO, 1785-1810
172. NAVA Y PORLIER, PEDRO, 1781-90\*\*
173. NEGRETE, FRANCISCO, 1751-90
174. NEGRETE, MIGUEL, 1780-1810
175. NEVEU, PEDRO, 1753-79
176. NUCETE, JUAN, 1771-86
177. OCANA, FRANCISCO, 1751-84

178. OLEA, ANDRES, 1767-82
179. ORIOLA, FRANCISCO, 1770-81
180. OROZCO, FRANCISCO, 1767-69, to Guayana
181. PAVIA, JOSE, 1786-92
182. PERA, JUAN JAVIER, 1771-85
183. PEREZ, JOAQUIN, 1784-1803\*\*
184. PEREZ, MATEO, 1784-1809
185. PEZON, FRANCISCO, (1757)-1804
186. PINEDA, JOSE, 1775-1810
187. PLANZON, FERMIN, 1767-83
188. PONCE, MANUEL, 1749-93
189. PORTERO, PEDRO, 1771-97
190. RABUNDA, JUAN, 1771-(1791)
191. RACHADELL, FRANCISCO, 1749-78
192. RAQUEL, MANUEL, 1749-89
193. RIVAS, PEDRO FERMIN DE, 1767-83, to Maracaibo
194. RODRIGUEZ, ANDRES, 1770-78
195. RODRIGUEZ, FRANCISCO, 1773-(1805)
196. RODRIGUEZ, GREGORIO, 1788-98
197. RODRIGUEZ, JOSE, 1777-98
198. ROMERO, JUAN FRANCISCO, 1770-99
199. ROSA, PEDRO RAFAEL, 1767-1801
200. RUEDA, FERMIN, (1787)-1787
201. SALAS, JOSE MARIA, 1773-1801
202. SALAS, JUAN MANUEL, 1772-(1808)
203. SANZ, MANUEL, 1766-1801
204. SERRANO, JOSE, 1751-88
205. SALINERO, JUAN, 1770-74
206. SOCOBIO, ANTONIO, 1771-76
207. SOMARRIBA Y ARCE, MELCHOR, 1781-1810
208. SUAREZ DE URBINA, PEDRO, 1782-1810\*\*
209. TARDI, FRANCISCO, 1767-72
210. TELLO, GERONIMO, 1768-1800
211. TORRES, MANUEL, 1767-77
212. UFANO, DIEGO, 1772-87
213. URRIERA, LUIS, 1767-96
214. VALLEJO, ALEJO, 1767-87
215. VARGAS, LUIS, 1763-83
216. ZAMORA, MIGUEL, 1767-72

III. Caracas, Officers Arriving  
Between 1791 and 1810

217. ABREU COLON, FRANCISCO, 1765-99, to Cumaná
218. AGUIRRE, JUAN R., 1787-(1809)
219. ALBUQUERQUE, FRANCISCO, 1790-(1806), from Trinidad\*\*
220. ALBUQUERQUE, FRANCISCO PAULA, 1800-1810
221. ALDAO, JR., MANUEL, 1790-1810
222. ALDAO, PEDRO JOSE, 1791-1810

223. ALEADO, JOSE LUIS, 1777-1803
224. ALOY, JOSE M., 1798-1810
225. AUGIER, JOSE, (1809)-1810
226. AYALA, MAURICIO, 1786-1810
227. AYALA, RAMON, 1788-1810
228. BELLO, MANUEL, 1799-1802
229. BOSCH, ANTONIO, 1802-1810
230. BOSCH, JOSE, 1803-1810
231. CAGIGAL, JUAN MANUEL, 1800-1804, to governorship  
of Cumaná\*\*
232. CARABANO, JR., FRANCISCO, 1802-1810
233. CEVALLOS, JOSE, (1810)-1810, commander in Coro\*\*
234. CHAMORRO, ALEJANDRO, 1802-(1808)
235. CONDE, JOSE V., 1782-1810
236. DELGADO, JOSE, 1798-(1802)
237. ESCALONA, JUAN, 1788-1810
238. ESPERANZA, CAYETANO, 1799-(1808)
239. GAONA, MANUEL, 1799-(1800)
240. GARCIA, PEDRO, 1799-1810
241. GARCIA FLORES, ANTONIO, 1792-1810
242. GARCIA MIRALLES, JOSE, 1795-1810
243. GOMEZ, ANTONIO, 1799-1804, to Maracaibo
244. GOMEZ DE LA FUENTE, FERNANCO, 1786-(1800)
245. GONZALEZ, JOSE, 1785-1800
246. GONZALEZ, CARBONELL, PEDRO, 1798-(1803)
247. GUTIERREZ, ANGEL, 1786-(1803)
248. GUTIERREZ, INOCENCIO, 1786-1802
249. GUZMAN, ANTONIO, 1799-1810
250. IZQUIERDO, JULIAN, 1803-1810, from Cumaná\*\*
251. JALON, DIEGO, (1809)-1810
252. LARTIGUE, JUAN, 1794-97
253. LASO, JOSE, 1798-1810
254. LEMER, SANTIAGO, 1786-(1806)
255. LETAMENDI, MATIAS, 1803-1810, from Margarita and  
Trinidad\*\*
256. LIENDO, JUAN GABRIEL, 1793-1808, to Barinas
257. LOPEZ, JOSE, 1787-(1802)
258. LOPEZ, JUAN JOSE, 1785-(1804)
259. LOPEZ CHAVEZ, ANTONIO, 1793-97
260. LUYANDO, JOAQUIN, 1796-1810
261. MANRIQUE, JUAN, 1784-1810
262. MARMION, SR., MIGUEL, 1790-1803, from governorship of  
Guayana\*\*
263. MARMION, JR., MIGUEL, 1793-1810
264. MARTI, JOSE, 1799-1810
265. MARTIN, SEBASTIAN, 1771-(1804)
266. MAYORAL, JUAN, 1786-(1807)
267. MESA, DOMINGO ANTONIO, 1787-(1805)
268. MIGUELAREANA, JOSE, 1792-1810
269. MOLINA Y PINERO, BARTOLOME, 1792-99
270. MONTUEL, JOSE, 1799-1810

271. MUNOZ, MANUEL, 1800-(1809)
272. OLAZARRA, JOSE, 1799-1810
273. OLIVA, JOSE, 1789-(1800)
274. PARRENO, JOSE, (1804)-(1807)
275. PELLIN, PEDRO ANTONIO, 1800-1810
276. PENA, FRANCISCO, 1803-1809
277. PINEDA, FRANCIACO, 1784-1808
278. PINEDA, MIGUEL, 1790-1810
279. PIRES Y CORREA, JUAN, (1808)-1810\*\*
280. PUYOL, JUAN A., 1799-1810
281. RICAURTE Y PICANTES, GERONIMO, 1799-1809\*\*
282. RIO, ALFONSO MARTIN DEL, 1796-1801
283. RIOS, JOSE DE LOS, 1793-1805
284. RODRIGUEZ, FRANCISCO ANTONIO, 1798-(1807)
285. RODRIGUEZ, JOSE, 1800-1810
286. ROMAN, PATRICIO, (1797)-(1797)
287. ROMANA, JOSE LORENZO, 1793-1810
288. ROMANA, JUAN MIGUEL, 1790-1808
289. ROMANA, JUAN PARLO, 1788-1810
290. ROS, LORENZO, 1799-1810
291. SAENZ VILLAREAL, LORENZO, 1799-(1809)
292. SANCHEZ, NIETO, 1799-1799, died the same year
293. SANCHEZ, PABLO JOSE, 1778-(1803)
294. SANCHEZ SALVADOR, BENITO, 1794-1806\*\*
295. SANTINELI, LUIS, 1798-1810
296. SARRAGA, IGNACIO, 1798-1810
297. SARA Y BUSI, JOSE, 1795-1810
298. SEGUIN, CIPRIANO, 1799-(1809)
299. SOTO, BONIFACIO, 1799-1801
300. SUAREZ DE URBINA, ANTONIO, 1802-1810\*\*
301. TORNOS, JUDAS TADEO, (1805)-(1809)
302. TORO, FERNANDO DEL, 1809-1810
303. UFANO, JOSE, 1785-(1809)
304. URENA, EMETERIO, 1809-1810\*\*
305. URRIERA, JOSE, 1792-1810
306. VALDES, JOSE MIGUEL, 1790-1810
307. VALDES, JUAN, 1786-1810
308. VALDES, SANTIAGO, 1796-1810
309. VASQUEZ, Y TELLEZ, JOSE, 1795-1810\*\*
310. VENZALA, JOSE, 1799-(1806)
311. VERDES, MANUEL CORDOVA, 1784-1800
312. VICARIO, SIMON, 1799-(1804)
313. VILLAFRANCA, LORENZO, 1800-1802
314. VILLAREAL, LORENZO, 1799-(1800)
315. ZUNILLAGA, JOAQUIN, 1790-99\*\*

Sources: Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Caracas, legajos 10-11, 14, 26, 37, 59, 75, 77, 79-90, 93-98, 100-108, 111-114, 116, 121, 147, 232-33, 282, 377, 381, 412, 414, 437B, 465, 473, 476, 478-80, 484, 843, 845-48, 850, 857-59, 863-69, 871-74, 879, 883, and 889; Archivo General de Indias,

Estado, legajo 58; Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, legajos 1821-23, 1825, and 1906; Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Moderna, legajos 7187, 7221-24, 7226, 7230-32, 7293-95, and 5837; Hojas militares, 3 vols. (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1930-50), I:4-5, 18-19, 23-24, 26-27, 34-38, 91-92, 111-113, 116-117, 138-42, 186-87, 189-90, 194-96, 206-213, 221-23, 249-50, 267-68, 294-95, 315-16, 327-28, 405-406, 477-78, II:14-15, 32-33, 36-38, 114-16, 230-32, 248-49, 266-67, 285-86, 326-27, 367-68, 372-76, 392-99, 410-11, 417-18, 425-26, III:41, 45-46, 53-54, 77-79, 93-94, 87-89, 109-110, 134-35, 157-58, 161-62, 165-66, 174-75, 184-89, 204-205, 219-22, 238-43, 301-302, 320-21, 329-30, and 416; Jose Antonio de Sangroniz y Castro, Familias coloniales de Venezuela (Caracas: Editorial Bolívar, 1943), pp. 60, 79, 127-28, 149, 224-25, 252-54, 339-40, and 384-87; Matrimonios y velaciones de españoles y criollos blancos celebrados en la catedral de Caracas desde 1615 hasta 1831 (Caracas: Instituto Venezolano de Genealogía, 1974), pp. 316, 516, 578-79, 585, 653-54, 679, 681-85, 689, 694, 697, 721-22, 725, 731-33, 735-37, 740-41, 744, 747, 750, 754, 801, 805, 807, 814, 829, 831, 836, 843, 857, 863, 874, 878, 921-22, and 925; Carlos Iturriza Guillén, Algunas Familias Caraqueñas, 2 vols. (Caracas: Escuela Técnica Industria Salesiana, 1967), I:14, 83-85, 118-20, 169-71, and 669, II:414, 534, 555, 585, and 844-46; Vicente Dávila, Diccionario Biográfico de Ilustres Próceres de la independencia Suramericana, 2 vols. (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1924-26), I:55, 68, 75, 78-79, 266, 291-92, and 326, II:10, 12-13, 76, 188-90, 200-201, 258, 358-59, and 368-70; Carlos Iturriza Guillén, Algunas Familias de Cumaná (Caracas: Italgrafica, 1973), pp. 57 and 796-98; Santiago Gerardo Suárez, Las instituciones militares Venezolanas del período hispánico en los archivos (Caracas: Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1969), pp. 90, 96-97, 132, 390, 396, 441, and 444; Mercedes Alvarez F., Temas para la historia del comercio colonial (Caracas: Tipografía Vargas, 1966), pp. 62-68; Gazeta de Caracas, December 9, 1808, June 23 and 30, 1809, September 29, 1809, December 22, 1809, January 7 and 19, 1810, and February 12, 1810; Guillermo Lohmann Villena, Los americanos en las ordenes nobiliarios, 1529-1900, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Gonzalez Fernández de Oviedo, 1957), I:92, 254-55, 372-73, and 403-404, II:3383-84; Agustín Millares Carlo, comp., Archivo del Registro Principal de Maracaibo; Protocolos de los Antiguos Escribanos (1790-1836), Índice y Extractos (Maracaibo: Centro Histórico del Zulia, 1964), p. 140; Kurt Nagel von Jess, Algunas familias maracaiberas (Maracaibo: Universidad de Zulia, 1969), pp. 301-302; Juan Manuel Zapatero, Historia de las Fortificaciones de Puerto Cabello (Caracas: Banco Central de Venezuela, 1977), pp. 100, 141, 195, and 207-210; Caracciolo Parra Pérez, Historia de la Primera Republica de Venezuela,

2 vols. (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1959), I:66, 127, 137-40, 150, 167, 171-75, 180, 183, 199, 255, 301, 314-17, 329, 370-72, 391-92, 411, 417, 422-24, 469, 471, 473, and 480-81, II:16-17, 29, 37, 47, 52-53, 56, 64, 66, 70, 72, 86, 88, 96, 98, 103-104, 109-110, 121-23, 142, 148, 162, 240, 242, 245-47, 249, 255, 258-61, 263-64, 266, 270, 276-77, 280, 284, 288-89, 293, 297, 303, 322, 328, 330, 332, 338, 341-42, 345, 349, 383, 388, 419, 422-23, 426-28, 431-33, 463, 467, 488, 492-93, 503, 506-507, and 515; and M. Leonidas Scarpetta and Saturino Vergara, Diccionario Biográfico de los Campeones de la libertad de Nueva Granada, Venezuela, Ecuador i Peru (Bogotá: Zalamea, 1879), pp. 93, 195-96, 238, 291, 323, 512-13, and 698-99.

#### IV. Cumaná, 1750-1810

1. ABREU COLON, FRANCISCO JAVIER, 1799-1810, from Caracas
2. ARAUJO, ANTONIO, 1775-1804
3. ARIAS DE REINA, ANTONIO, 1775-89, to Margarita
4. ARISMENDI, JUAN BERNARDO, (1753)-1763
5. BAQUERIZO, FELICIANO, 1791-1801
6. BASTARDO Y LOAYSA, JOSE ANTONIO, 1767-1802
7. BETANCURT, NICOLAS, 1759-99
8. BLESÁ, SEBASTIAN, 1786-1810
9. CAMINERO, AGUSTIN, 1797-(1804)
10. CARABANO, FRANCISCO, 1776-80, to Trinidad
11. CORONADO, MARTIN, 1773-1810
12. CORREA Y GUEVARA, MIGUEL, 1808-10\*\*
13. COSTA, FRANCISCO, 1784-(1805)
14. FERNANDEZ DE LA HOZ, LORENZO, 1796-1809, to governorship of Cumaná\*\*
15. GARCIA, TOMAS (1804)
16. GONZALEZ, VICENTE, 1784-1810
17. GONZALEZ DE FLORES, FRANCISCO JAVIER, 1733-79
18. GONZALEZ DE FLORES, JR., FRANCISCO JAVIER, 1790-(1805)
19. GONZALEZ DE FLORES, JUAN JOSE, 1782-1810
20. GONZALEZ DE FLORES, PEDRO, 1785-(1803)
21. GONZALEZ MORENO, FRANCISCO, 1780-1810
22. GONZALEZ MORENO, PEDRO, 1781-83
23. GUINET, CARLOS, 1788-1810
24. GUTIERREZ, JOSE, 1799-(1804), from Caracas
25. HAMILTON, PABLO, 1757-72
26. HEREDIA, JUAN ANTONIO, 1779-(1807)
27. HERNANDEZ, BALTAZAR, 1802-(1802)
28. ISABA, CASIMIRO, 1776-1802\*\*
29. IZQUERIDO, JULIAN, 1784-1803, to Caracas
30. LAMELA, DIEGO, (1801)
31. LARA, GASPAR, 1746-56
32. LOPEZ, MATIAS, 1804-1810

33. LOPEZ DE ARJONA, FELIPE, 1771-1806
34. LOPEZ DE ARJONA, IGNACIO, 1776-(1804)
35. LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, SIMON, 1733-68
36. MANJON, FRANCISCO, 1775-80
37. MARMION, MIGUEL, 1775-85, from Caracas and to governor-  
ship of Guayana\*\*
38. MARTINEZ MARCO, PASQUEL, 1748-(1804)
39. MAS, MIGUEL, 1799-(1809)
40. MONTANA, ANTONIO, 1774-1808
41. MORALES, JOSE, 1799-(1809)
42. MUNOZ, FRANCISCO MATEO, 1761-1803
43. MUNOZ, TOMAS, 1772-76
44. O'BRIEN, ANTONIO, 1775-83
45. ORDONEZ, ALEJANDRO, 1774-90
46. PELAEZ, JOSE MARIA, 1799-(1806)
47. PERELLO, JUAN ANTONIO, 1768-85
48. PINERO, NICOLAS, (1805)-1810
49. PONTE, ANTONIO PIO, 1787-1807
50. RAMIREZ, JOSE MARIA, 1799-1810
51. RAMOS, JUAN, 1799-(1805)
52. ROBLES, DIEGO, 1733-55
53. RODRIGUEZ, JOSE, (1753)-(1762)
54. ROJAS, JUAN, (1753)-(1762)
55. RUIZ, MANUEL, 1792-(1807)
56. SALAVERRIA, GASPAS, 1734-95
57. SALCEDO VILLASENOR, JOSE, 1779-(1784) and 1804-1810
58. SANCHEZ, DIEGO, 1752-62
59. SANCHEZ, DIONISIO, 1744-92
60. SANCHEZ, DOMINGO, 1790-(1802)
61. SANCHEZ, MANUEL, (1752)-1771
62. SANCHEZ GORDON, PEDRO, 1783-1810
63. SERRANO, JOSE, 1799-(1800)
64. SUCRE, ANTONIO, 1751-(1795)
65. SUCRE, FRANCISCO, 1774-1802, in Guayana 1788-96
66. SUCRE, NICOLAS, 1772-(1794)
67. SUCRE, VICENTE, 1773-97
68. TORNUELLA, JOSE, 1799-(1809)
69. URBANEJA, DOMINGO, 1781-(1802)
70. VALLENILLA, DIEGO, 1803-1810
71. VALLENILLA, JOAQUIN, 1755-93
72. VALLENILLA ARENA, DOMINGO, 1738-52
73. VILLAPOL, MANUEL, 1799-1810

Sources: Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Caracas, legajos 48, 80, 85-90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 101, 103-107, 111-112, 122, 125, 127-34, 201, 366, 395, 465, 475-76, 479, 843-46, 848, 850, 859, 862, 864, 878-80, 882, and 883; Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, legajos 1823, 1825, and 1906; Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Moderna, legajos 7226, 7232, 7293-95, and 5837; Hojas militares, 3 vols (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1930-50),



I:4-5, 84-87, 162-64, 182-83, 305-06, 311-13, 334-35, 372-74, and 418-19, II:8-9, and 279-80, III:43-44, 144-45, 230-31, 265-66, and 426-27; Carlos Iturriza Guillén, Algunas Familias de Cumaná (Caracas: Italgrafica, 1973), pp. 3-5, 9-13, 23-24, 128-29, 167-73, 200, 216-29, 265-66, 303, 305, 356, 363-64, 405, 417, 453, 539-44, 589-91, 600-601, 634-39, 697-99, 713-59, 787, and 791; José Antonio de Sangroniz y Castro, Familias coloniales de Venezuela (Caracas: Editorial Bolívar, 1943), pp. 27, 87, 333-35, and 372; L. Duarte Level, Historia Patria (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1911), pp. 256, 258, 260, and 285-95; Caracciolo Parra Pérez, Historia de la Primera República de Venezuela, 2 vols. (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1959), I:39, 388, and 407-409; II:78, 80, 109, 263-68, 308, 361, 365, 488, 492, 505, and 515; Gazeta de Caracas, June 23, 1809; Matrimonios y velaciones de españoles y criollos blancos celebrados en la catedral de Caracas desde 1615 hasta 1831 (Caracas: Instituto Venezolano de Genealogía, 1974), pp. 741, 809, and 876; Vicente Davila, ed., Diccionario Biográfico de Ilustres Próceres de la independencia Suramericana, 2 vols. (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1924-26), II: 250-52, 297-303, and 390-91; and Alejandro Mario Capules, Coronas de Castilla en Venezuela (Madrid: Graficas Orbe, 1967), pp. 473-77.

#### V. Guayana, 1750-1810

1. ALEMAN, LUIS, 1737-65
2. ARAUJO, DIEGO, 1772-94
3. ASTOR, JUAN MANUEL, 1786-1801
4. ASTOR, MANUEL, 1761-1802
5. AVILES, ANTONIO, 1767-95
6. BARRETO Y URBINA, ANTONIO, 1755-86
7. BEAUMONT, PEDRO, 1768-(1801)
8. BERNIS, FRANCISCO, 1776-(1801)
9. BOBADILLA, FRANCISCO, 1751-75
10. BOBADILLA, JR., FRANCISCO, 1783-(1801)
11. BOLCAN, JOSE, 1779-91
12. BONALDE, JUAN ANTONIO, 1741-72
13. BONMON, PEDRO TOMAS, 1768-1810
14. BOSI, JOSE, 1766-76, from Caracas
15. CENTURION, MANUEL, 1766-76, from Caracas
16. CHASTRE, JOSE, 1764-1810
17. CLAVERO, GABRIEL, 1786-87
18. DIAZ DEL BERRIO, MATIAS, 1764-66
19. DIEZ DE LA FUENTE, VICENTE, 1764-83
20. ELIZALDE, MATEO, 1784-1801

21. ESCOBAR Y CENTURION, JUAN, 1787-(1801).
22. ESPINOSA, SEBASTIAN, 1763-(1801)
23. FARRERAS, FELIX, 1754-76
24. FARRERAS, MATIAS, 1773-1810
25. FERNANDEZ, JOAQUIN, 1800-(1800)
26. GERONA, MELCHOR, 1795-(1801)
27. GONZALES DE FLORES, JUAN DE DIOS, 1754-65
28. LANZAROTE, BERNARDO, (1773)-1775
29. LINARES, JOSE, 1775-78
30. LOPEZ CHAVES, ANTONIO, 1765-93, to Caracas
31. LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, ANTONIO, 1765-97
32. MARTINEZ, NICOLAS, 1768-73
33. MASDEN, FELIPE, 1784-86
34. MILLER, JOSE, 1775-86, to Trinidad
35. MONTORO, MANUEL, 1775-82
36. MORENO DE MENDOZA, JOAQUIN, 1762-66, from Caracas\*\*
37. OLEAGA, MIGUEL, 1772-86
38. OROZCO, ANTONIO, 1784-(1805)
39. OROZCO, FRANCISCO, 1769-1810, from Caracas\*\*
40. OROZCO, JR., FRANCISCO, 1786-1810
41. OSSA, ISIDRO, 1790-1810
42. PATINO, JOSE, 1775-93
43. PIRACES, FRANCISCO, 1788-(1801)
44. PONS, JUAN, 1787-1810
45. PRESA, FAUSTINO, 1799-1810
46. RIVERO, ANTONIO, 1766-(1801)
47. ROMERO, BARTOLOME, 1759-95
48. RUY Y FIGUEROA, ANDRES, 1804-1810
49. SANCHEZ, JOSE DIONISIO, 1790-1810
50. SANCHEZ, JOSE MARIA, 1802-1810
51. SOLER, JUAN D., 1799-(1801)
52. SUCRE, FRANCISCO, 1788-1796, to Cumaná
53. VALDES, JUAN 1733-66, to Caracas\*\*

Sources: Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Caracas, legajos 10, 48, 78, 80-81, 83-90, 93-94, 96, 104-105, 111-13, 125, 137-39, 158, 201, 221, 271, 476, 478-79, 484, 843-44, 850-52, 858, 862, 864-65, 868-69, 874, and 882; Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, legajos 1821-1823, and 1906; Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Moderna, legajos 7226, 7229, 7231, and 7293-7295; Vicente Dávila, Diccionario Biográfico de Ilustres Próceres de la independencia Suramericana, 2 vols. (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1924-26), I:24; Matrimonios y velaciones de españoles y criollos blancos celebrados en la catedral de Caracas desde 1615 hasta 1831 (Caracas: Instituto Venezolano de Genealogía, 1974), pp. 805 and 807; Carlos Iturriza Guillén, Alguna familias de Cumaná, (Caracas: Italgrafica, 1973), pp. 50 and 218; José Antonio de Sangroniz y Castro, Familias coloniales de Venezuela (Caracas: Editorial Bolívar, 1943), p. 385; Guillermo Lohmann Villena, Los americanos en las

ordenes nobiliarias, 1529-1900, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto González Fernández de Oviedo, 1957), I:43; Caracciolo Parra Perez, Historia de la Primera Republica de Venezuela, 2 vols. (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1959), I:136-37, and 417, II:78, 80, 109-110, and 246; L. Duarte Level, Historia Patria (Caracas: Tipografia Americana, 1911), p. 258; and Hojas militares, 3 vols. (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1930-50, I:103-105, 134-36, 144-46, 361, 379-80, and 400-41, II:437-38, and III:112-13, 139-40, 262-63, and 272-73.

#### VI. Maracaibo, 1750-1810

1. ACOSTA, ANTONIO, 1727-67
2. ALBUQUERQUE, FRANCISCO, 1771-86, transferred to Trinidad
3. AVILA, ANTONIO, 1779-1810
4. CARRASQUERO, DIEGO, 1759-83
5. CARRASQUERO, FELIX, 1777-1810
6. CARRASQUERO, JUAN, 1748-78
7. CARRASQUERO, PEDRO LUCAS, 1714-59
8. CARRASQUERO, SIMON, 1746-83
9. CASADO, AGUSTIN, 1783-1805, from Caracas
10. CELIS, LUIS GUTIERREZ, 1777-(1809)
11. CORREA Y GUEVARA, RAMON, 1798-1810
12. DELGADO, RAFAEL, 1773-1800
13. DURAN, JUAN ANTONIO, 1759-87
14. FERNANDEZ, PEDRO, 1778-1810
15. GAUDICHE, PEDRO, 1784-(1794)
16. GOMEZ, ANTONIO, 1805-1810, from Caracas
17. GUADA, MIGUEL, 1789-1810, from Caracas
18. GUERRA, ANTONIO, 1779-(1808)
19. HOYO, GASPAS, 1780-97
20. IRIARTE, ANTONIO, 1788-1810
21. LIENDO, JUAN GABRIEL, 1808-1810, from Caracas\*
22. LIZARZABAL, DIEGO, 1733-55
23. LUZARDO, JOSE ANTONIO, 1758-94
24. LUZARDO, JOSE VICENTE, 1774-1805
25. MARQUES DE VALENZUELA, PEDRO, 1781-83, to Caracas
26. MENDIETA, JOAQUIN, 1764-(1809)
27. MENDIETA Y OCHOA, CRISTOBAL, 1759-73
28. MESA, JOSE, 1797-1810, from Trinidad
29. MORENO, DE MENDOZA, JAIME, 1765-1803, returned 1811 from Spain
30. MUNOZ, JOSE, 1755-81, from Caracas
31. MUNOZ, SALVADOR, 1783-1802, from Caracas
32. NEBOT, RAFAEL, 1757-97, from Caracas
33. ORELLANA, FRANCISCO, 1797-1803, to Barinas to 1810\*

34. ORTEGA, GREGORIO, 1752-(1752)
35. PINATE, ANDRES, 1773-1810
36. PONCE, PEDRO, 1797-(1809), to Barinas\*
37. ROVAS, PEDRO FERMIN, 1783-96, from Caracas
38. ROO, GUILLERMO, 1764-1810
39. ROO, JOSE IGNACIO, 1781-1810
40. ROSALES, JUAN, 1723-67
41. SALINAS, FABIAN, 1799-1810
42. SANCHEZ, DE AGREDA, JOSE, 1752-59
43. UGARTE, FRANCISCO, 1779-(1810)
44. UNGARO Y DUSMET, MIGUEL, 1798-1808\*
45. VELARDE, BERNARDO, 1752-67
46. ZURBARAN, JUAN, 1704-54
47. ZURBARAN, JUAN FRANCISCO, 1730-77

Sources: Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Caracas, legajos 49, 82, 84-90, 92-93, 98-101, 104-105, 111-12, 116, 146, 379, 476, 479-80, 484, 845-46, 851-52, 856, 858, 862, 869, 876, 878, and 880-82; Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General legajo 1824; Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Moderna, legajos 7223, and 7293-7295; Hojas Militares, 3 vols. (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1930-50), I:23-26, 109-110, 246-47, 276-77, 308-11, 329-31, 406-407, and 477-78, II:39-43, 107-108, 299-300, 306-307, 362-64, and 423-24, III:90-93, 108-109, 214-218, 249-50, and 363-64; Gazeta de Caracas, December 22, 1809; Agustín Millares Carlo, comp., Archivo del Registro Principal de Maracaibo; Protocolos de los Antiguos Excribanos (1790-1836), Indice y Extractos (Maracaibo: Centro Historico del Zulia, 1964), pp. 52, 55-56, 61-64, 69, 72, 76, 78-79, 92, 95, 102-104, 109, 113, 116, 118, 121, 127, 129, 138, 147, 151-52, 157, 160, 172, 178-80, 193, 195, 276, and 279; Kurt Nagel von Jess, Algunas familias maracaiberas (Maracaibo: Universidad del Zulia, 1969), pp. 32-35, 109-113, 248, 267-68, and 395; and Vicente Dávila, Diccionario Biográfico de Ilustres Próceres de la independencia Suramericana, 2 vols. (Caracas: Tipografica Americana, 1924-26), II:215.

#### VII. Margarita, 1750-1810

1. ANES, CRISTOBAL, 1771-(1806)
2. ANES, JUAN, 1794-(1809)
3. ARAUZ Y BEJARANO, 1779-92
4. ARIAS DE REINA, ANTONIO, 1789-1804, tranferred from Cumaná
5. GIRON Y MONTEZUEMA, ANDRES, 1777-88
6. GUEVARA, JOSE JOAQUIN, 1771-1800
7. IRLA, ANDRES, 1777-94

8. LETAMENDI, MATIAS, 1777-87, transferred to Trinidad, where he served from 1787-1797, and then transferred to Caracas, where he served 1797-1810
9. LOPEZ, JOSE, 1777-89
10. MARCANO, JOSE MARIA, 1772-1810
11. MARMOL, FRANCISCO, 1799-1810
12. MARTINEZ, PASQUAL, 1796-1810
13. NARARRO, CARLOS, 1738-88
14. PUELLES, JOAQUIN, 1806-1810
15. RODRIGUEZ, FRANCISCO, 1779-92
16. RUATA, IGNACIO, 1799-(1809)
17. VALDES, JOSE GREGORIO, 1793-(1801)
18. VALDES DE YARZA, JUAN BAUTISTA, 1776-98
19. VASQUEZ, MIGUEL, 1794-97
20. YANEZ, JUAN, 1771-82
21. ZAMBRANA, LORENZO, 1777-(1800)

Sources: Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Caracas, legajos 48, 84-87, 89-90, 939-5, 97, 101-102, 112-13, 116, 395, 465, 485, 843, 846, 851, 862, 868, 878, and 881; Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, legajo 1823; Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Moderna, legajos 7293-7295; Gazeta de Caracas, June 20, 1809, and February 12, 1810; Hojas militares, 3 vols. (Caracas: Imprenta Nacional, 1930-50), I:57-59, II:239-40 and 249-51, III, 124-25 and 228-29; Carlos Iturriza Guillén, Algunas Familias de Cumaná (Caracas: Italgrafica, 1973), pp. 787-88; Caracciolo Parra Pérez, Historia de la Primera República de Venezuela, 2 vols. (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1959), II:80, 358, 361, 488, 496, 505, and 507; Santiago Gerardo Suárez, ed., Las instituciones militares venezolanas del período hispánico en los archivos (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1969), p. 62.

\*These officers served in Barinas.

\*\*These officers reached field grade rank while in Venezuela.

\*\*\*If the year is enclosed in parentheses it signifies the date the officer is first or last entered in the documentation, but no official date of arrival or departure could be determined.

APPENDIX II  
PENINSULARES AND EUROPEANS VERSUS CRIOLLOS;  
REGULAR ARMY OFFICERS, 1750-1800

Garrison	Year:	1750	1755	1760	1765	1770	1775	1780	1785	1790	1795	1800
I. Peninsulares and Europeans												
A. Caracas		30	52	51	45	60	90	78	74	55	49	68
B. Cumana		3	3	3	3	3	8	12	11	7	8	17
C. Guayana		0	1	1	4	7	10	7	7	7	7	10
D. Maracaibo		0	1	2	2	4	5	5	8	9	8	10
E. Margarita		0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	5	4	5
Total		33	57	57	54	74	113	107	107	83	76	110
II. Criollos												
A. Caracas		1	3	6	5	3	7	17	26	30	20	39
B. Cumana		6	6	6	7	6	5	7	7	10	11	14
C. Guayana		1	1	1	1	3	3	6	5	9	10	9
D. Maracaibo		7	7	5	5	4	7	5	7	8	8	10
E. Margarita		1	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	4	4
Total		16	18	19	19	17	23	38	47	60	63	73

Source: Appendix I.

APPENDIX III  
BIRTHPLACES OF REGULAR OFFICERS SERVING  
IN VENEZUELA, 1750-1810

Birthplace	Garrison					Total
	Caracas/Cumaná	Guayana	Maracaibo	Margarita		
Andalusia	59	6	7	2	5	79
Levante <sup>b</sup>	13	3	0	0	0	16
Extremadura	9	2	1	0	0	12
Castilla La Nueva	19	2	0	1	0	22
Castilla La Vieja	24	6	2	0	1	33
Aragon	7	1	1	0	1	10
Cataluna	19	2	2	1	1	25
Galicia	12	1	1	0	0	14
Zona Cantabrica <sup>c</sup>	17	1	0	0	3	21
Navarra	1	0	0	0	1	2
Insular <sup>d</sup>	4	0	0	1	0	5
Norte de Africa	7	2	1	2	1	13
Espana (General)	32	6	6	0	0	44
Other European	17	1	1	2	0	21
Sub-Total (65.4%)	240	33	22	9	13	317
Caracas	57	1	4	2	0	64
Cumaná	0	29	10	1	0	40
Guayana	0	0	6	0	1	7
Maracaibo	0	0	0	25	0	25
Margarita	0	1	1	0	5	7
Other America	10	2	1	2	0	15
Sub-Total (32.5%)	67	33	22	30	6	158
Unknown (2.1%)	1	4	4	0	1	10
TOTAL <sup>a</sup> (100.0%)	308	70	48	39	20	485

Source: Appendix I.

<sup>a</sup>Totals for each do not reflect officers who transferred within the captaincy general, who were included only once; in the station in which they first served.

<sup>b</sup>Levante includes Albacete, Alicante, Castellon de la Plana, Murcia, and Valencia.

<sup>c</sup>Zona, Catábrica includes Asturias, Oviedo, Alava, Santander, Bilbao, San Sebastián, and Vitoria.

<sup>d</sup>Insular includes Canarias and Balares

APPENDIX IV  
ROUTE AND AGE OF COMMISSION, 1750-1810

I. Route Receiving Commission

	<u>Caracas</u>	<u>Cumaná</u>	<u>Guayana</u>	<u>Maracaibo</u>	<u>Margarita</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
From Cadet	161	35	22	24	11	253	(57.1)
From Ranks	101	23	17	9	9	159	(35.9)
Direct							
Commission	13	1	1	2	0	17	( 3.8)
From Militias	6	2	0	1	0	9	( 2.0)
Unknown	5	0	0	0	0	0	( 1.1)
	<u>286</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>443*</u>	<u>(99.0)</u>

II. Age Receiving Commission

	<u>Number Known</u>	<u>Average Age</u>
From Cadet	240	24.9
From Ranks	146	35.8
Direct Commission	13	18.9
From Militias	8	32.3
	<u>407*</u>	<u>28.8</u>

Source: Appendix I.

\*These totals only represent those officers for whom there is information concerning the route and age of commission, of the 485 officers who served.



APPENDIX V  
CAREER SPAN

I. Route of Regular Officers Leaving  
Service in Venezuela

<u>Province</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Transferred</u>	<u>Here 1810</u>	<u>Probably Here 1810</u>	<u>Unlikely Here 1810</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Caracas	109	46	48	62	32	8	3	308
Cumaná	26	3	3	13	20	2	3	70
Guayana	16	6	4	12	8	2	0	48
Marcaibo	10	8	2	11	6	0	2	39
Margarita	5	3	2	8	2	0	0	20
	<u>166</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>485</u>

II. Years Officer Spent in Venezuela  
if Died, Retired, or Transferred

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Average Years</u>
Caracas	202	18.6
Cumaná	31	25.5
Guayana	25	18.9
Marcaibo	20	29.9
Margarita	10	19.5
Total	<u>288</u>	<u>20.2</u>

III. Years of Army Career if Officer  
Completed Career in Venezuela

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Average Years of Career</u>
Caracas	143	33.0
Cumaná	28	33.0
Guayana	19	25.2
Maracaibo	18	31.2
Margarita	8	31.1
Total	216	32.1

IV. Rank at End of Career if Officer  
Finished Career in Venezuela

	<u>Rank</u>								
<u>Province</u>	<u>Second Lieutenant</u>	<u>First Captain</u>	<u>Captain</u>	<u>Major</u>	<u>Lieutenant Colonel</u>	<u>Colonel</u>	<u>Brigadier</u>	<u>Field Marshal</u>	<u>Total</u>
Caracas	35	39	49	11	8	9	2	1	154
Cumaná	5	9	7	1	3	2	0	0	27
Guayana	5	8	7	0	2	0	0	0	22
Maracaibo	3	7	6	0	2	0	0	0	18
Margarita	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8
Total	54	63	71	12	15	11	2	1	229
%	23.6	27.5	31.0	5.2	6.6	4.8	0.9	0.4	99.9

V. Life Span of Officers if Career  
Ended in Venezuela

	Origin					
	European		Criollo		Combined	
	#	Av. Age at Death	#	Av. Age at Death	#	Av. Age at Death
Garrison						
Caracas	91	55.2	21	46.4	112	53.6
Cumaná	10	51.5	13	55.5	23	53.7
Guayana	6	48.5	5	45.8	11	47.3
Marcaibo	1	54.0	7	56.3	8	56.0
Margarita	4	54.5	1	51.0	5	53.8
	112	54.5	47	50.4	159	53.3

Source: Appendix I.

APPENDIX VI  
OFFICER MARRIAGES

Category	Provision/Garrison					
	Caracas	Cumaná	Guayana	Maracaibo	Margarita	Total
Married--parents' status unknown	37	8	9	10	6	70
Married--wife's father civilian	79	28	11	19	3	140
Married--wife's father military	12	7	4	4	3	30
Did not marry in Venezuela	106	9	14	3	6	138
Unknown--arrived before 1800	8	5	4	2	1	20
Unknown--arrived after 1800	48	6	3	1	1	59
Married in Spain-- status of parents unknown	18	7	3	0	0	28
Total	310	70	48	39	20	485

Source: Appendix I.

APPENDIX VII  
CARACAS ELITES

I. Family names on more than one list: Aguado, Ascunio, Benites(s), Berrotaran, Blanco, Bolívar, Escalona, Galindo, Gedler, Hermoso, Herrera, Ibarra, Jerez Mijares de Solorzano, Meneses, Monasterios, Moreno, Monserrate, Muñoz, Pacheco, Palacios, Plaza, Monteverde, Ponte, Rada, Rengijo, Rivas, Rodríguez del Toro, Solorzano, Sojo, Suárez, Tovar, Urvina, Ustáris, Vega(s), and Verois (36).

II. Family names only on the 1749 list: Arias, Arratia, Arrechadera, Arteaga, Carasco, Frias, Fuenmayor, Garaban, Inciart, Landaeta, Liendo, Lovera, Madrid(z), Marinas, Marino, Mejias, Piñango, Silva, and Vásquez de Coronado (19).

III. Family names only on the 1768 list: none.

IV. Family names only on the 1786 list: Alvarado, Buena-ventura Terreros, Cocho, De Anza, De Longa, De los Reyes, Del Castillo, Delgado Correa, Diaz, Echenique, Echezuria, Egana, Escoriguela, Fierro, Francia, García de Guinand, Hernandez, Iriarte, Llaguno, Mendes, Michelena, Mireles, Mora, Nuñez, Origuella, Otamendi, Pazos, Rodríguez, Seijas, Vargas, Veitia, Velazquez, Zuasnavar, and Zuloeta (34).

V. Family names only on the 1797 list: Caro, Darba y Leon, Garate, Gil, Hurtado y Pozo, Isturris, Manruque, and Porras y Colón (8).

VI. Family names only on the list of members of the Orders: Barreto, Matos, Pumar, Rodríguez Delgado, Solano, and Urdaneta (6).

Sources: "Acta de la Asamblea que celebraron los Notables de Caracas en la Sala del Ayuntamiento, donde se reconoce, en vista del escrito presentado pro Leon a traves de su

abogado, los perjuicios que ha causado la Compania," Caracas, April 22, 1749, in Documentos relativos a la insurrección de Juan Francisco de León (Caracas: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1949), pp. 31-55; "Revista de la compania de Nobles Acavallo de la Diudad de Santiago de Leon de Caracas, formado de sus hijos nobles," Caracas, July 12, 1768, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Caracas, legajo 850; "Lista de los cocheros, comerciantes y mercaderes de la Provincia de Venezuela que se deben declarar matriculados en la cedula de ereccion," Caracas, July 23, 1786, in Eduardo Arcila Farias, comp., El Real Consulado de Caracas (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1957), pp. 224-25; "Representacion de la nobleza de Caracas al rey sobre la Conspiración de Gual y España," Caracas, August 4, 1797, in Documentos relativos a la Revolución de Gual y España (Caracas: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1949), pp. 96-98; and Guillermo Lohmann Villena, Los Americanos en las ordenes nobiliarios, 1520-1900 (Madrid: Instituto González Fernández de Oviedo, 1957).

APPENDIX VIII  
OFFICERS ON ACTIVE DUTY IN CARACAS PROVINCE,  
APRIL 1810 FOR WHOM ROLES IN THE WARS  
OF INDEPENDENCE ARE KNOWN

Brigadiers and Colonels

1. Juan de Casas, Peninsular, Retired
2. Agustín García, Peninsular, Royalist
3. José Vasquez y Tellez, Peninsular, Royalist

Lieutenant Colonels

1. Francisco Jacot, Peninsular, Patriot
2. Lorenzo Ros, Peninsular, Royalist
3. Emeterio Ureña, Peninsular, Royalist

Majors

1. Nicolás de Castro, Jr., Criollo, Patriot
2. Manuel Moreno de Mendoza, Criollo, Patriot
3. Julián Izquierdo, Peninsular, Royalist
4. Fernando de Toro, Criollo, Patriot

Captains

1. Juan Pablo Ayala, Criollo, Patriot
2. Pedro Manrique, Jr., Criollo, Patriot
3. Ignacio Matos, Criollo, Patriot
4. Bernardo Muros, Criollo, Retired
5. Jose Piñeda, Criollo, Patriot
6. Jose Gabriel Liendo, Criollo, Patriot
7. Juan Pires y Correa, Peninsular, Patriot
8. Gerónimo Ricuarte, Criollo, Patriot
9. Antonio Suárez de Urbina, Criollo, Patriot

Lieutenants and First Adjudants

1. Ramon Ayala, Criollo, Patriot
2. Mauricio Ayala, Criollo, Patriot
3. Juan Escalona, Criollo, Patriot
4. Antonio Guzmán, Peninsular, Patriot to 1812, then  
Royalist
5. Diego Jalón, Peninsular, Patriot
6. Juan Manrique, Criollo, Patriot
7. Miguel Marmiñ, Criollo, Patriot
8. José Martí, Peninsular, Patriot to 1812, then  
Royalist
9. Miguel Negrete, Criollo, Patriot
10. José Olazarra, Peninsular, Royalist
11. Pedro Antonio Pellín, Peninsular, Patriot
12. Faustino de la Presa, Peninsular, Patriot
13. Juan Antonio Puyol (Pujol), Peninsular, Retired
14. José Rodríguez, Peninsular, Patriot
15. Juan de la Romana, Criollo, Patriot
16. Luis Santinelli, Criollo, Patriot
17. José Miguel Valdés, Criollo, Patriot
18. Juan José Valdés, Criollo, Patriot
19. Melchor Sommariba y Arce, Peninsular, Royalist

Second Lieutenants and Adjudants

1. Francisco de Paula Albuquerque, Criollo, Royalist
2. Manuel Aldao, Criollo, Patriot
3. Pedro Aldao, Criollo, Patriot
4. Francisco Carabaño, Jr., Criollo, Patriot
5. José Vicente Conde, Peninsular, Retired
6. Antonio García, Peninsular, Patriot
7. Pedro García, Peninsular, Patriot
8. José Laso, Peninsular, Patriot
9. José Miguelarena, Peninsular, Patriot
10. José Montuel, Peninsular, Royalist
11. Miguel Piñeda, Criollo, Patriot
12. José Lorenzo de la Romana, Criollo, Patriot
13. José Sata y Busi, Criollo, Patriot
14. José Antonio Urriera, Criollo, Patriot
15. Santiago Valdés, Criollo, Patriot



Summary

Criollo Royalist	1	
Peninsular Royalists	8	
	<hr/>	
Total Royalists		9 ( 15.0%)
Criollo Patriots	28	
Peninsular Patriots	13	
	<hr/>	
Total Patriots		41 ( 76.0%)
Total Retired		4 ( 7.0%)
	<hr/>	
TOTAL		54 (100.0%)

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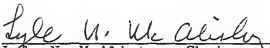
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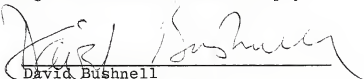
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
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August 1985

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